

No. 236 / OCTOBER 1992



The Gulf in flames

The real cost of Desert Storm





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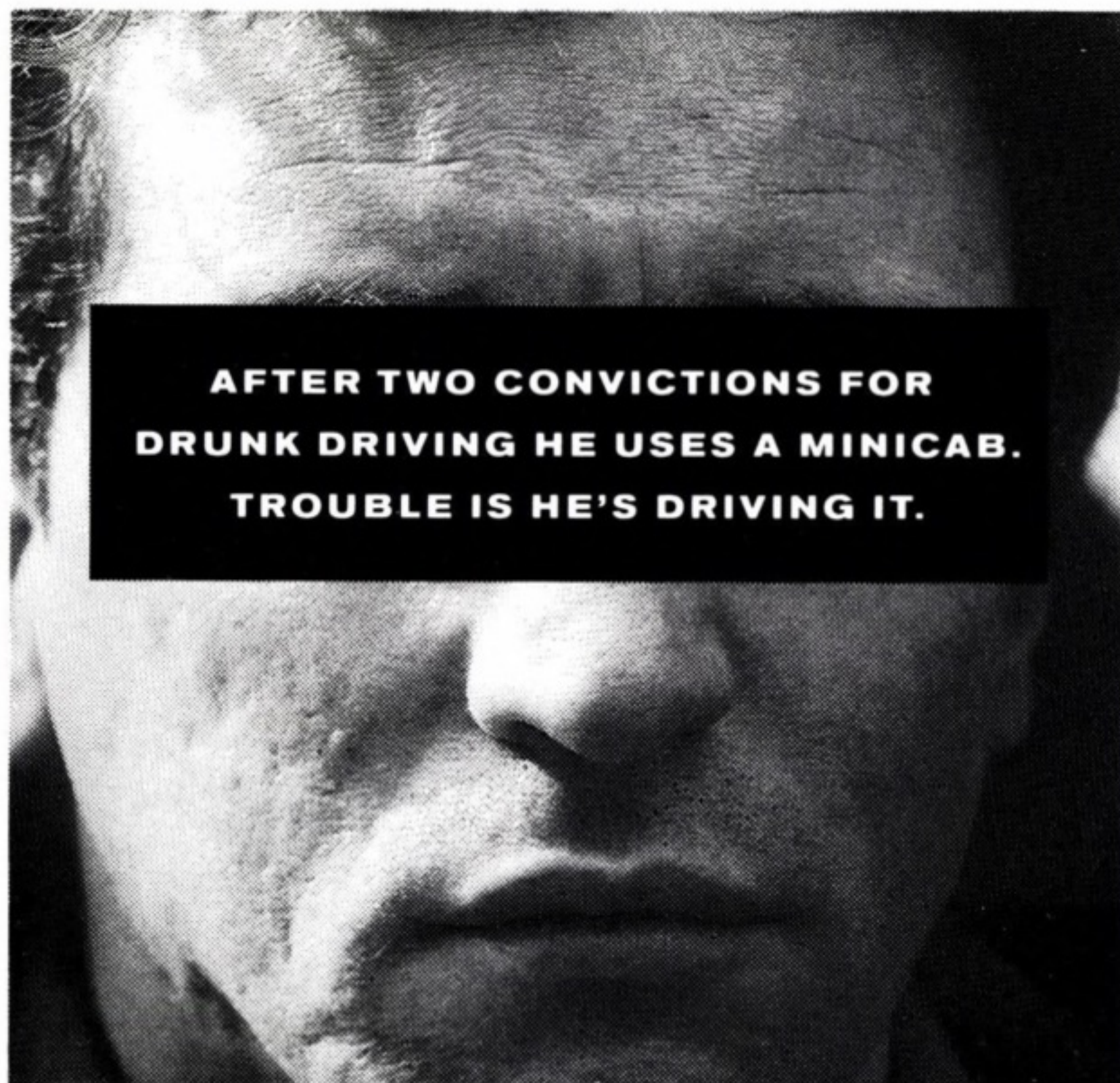
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- ◆ SATANIC VERSES. How a modern, down-to-earth Christian was shocked to the core by his part in an exorcism.
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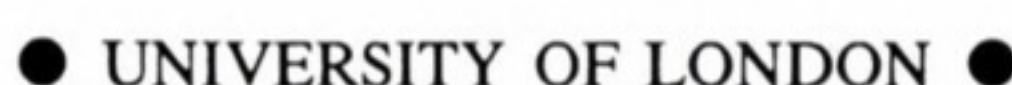
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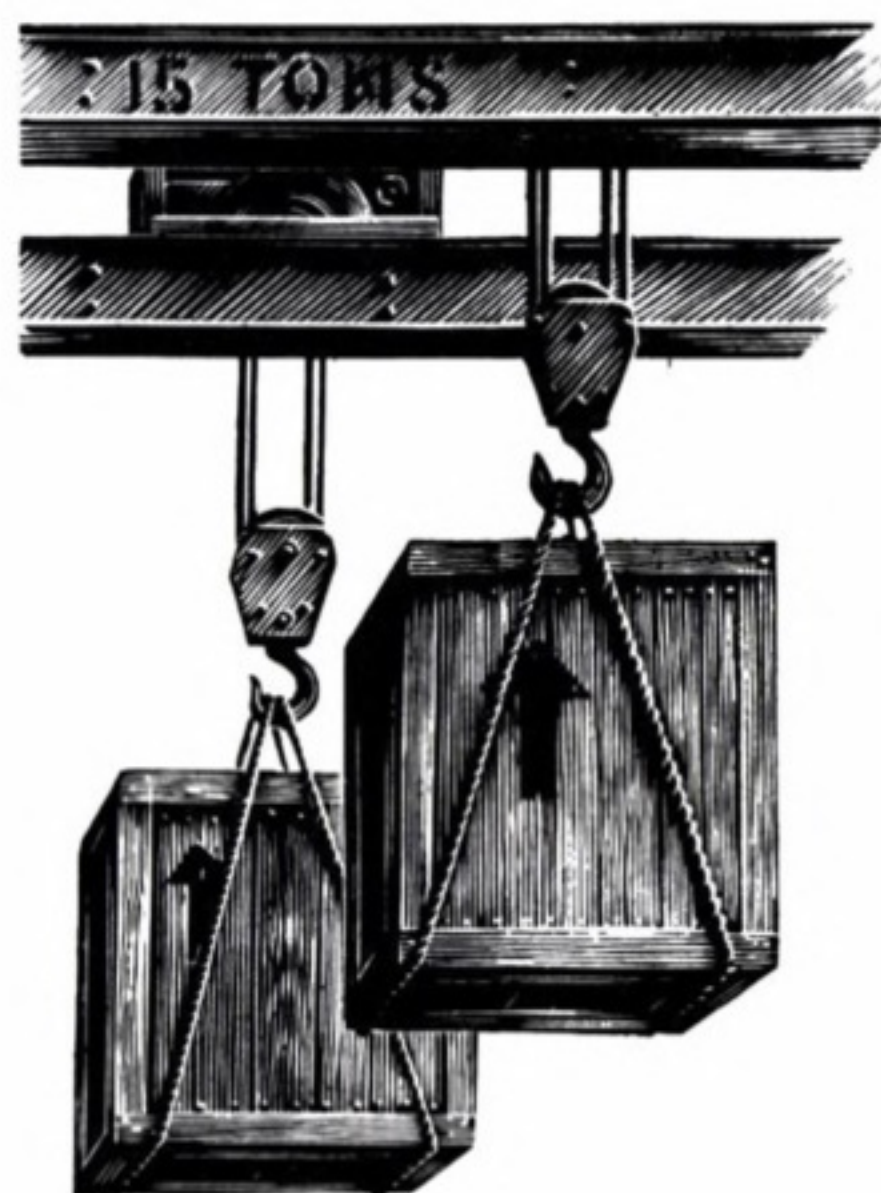
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C O N T E N T S

**The Gulf in flames 4**

Why **David Ransom** won't buy the authorized version of the Gulf War.

Patriarchs and petroculture 8

Nawal El Saadawi tells the story of how Arab women have been hit by Desert Storm.

Crazy for oil 10

Paul Rogers uncovers the origins of military confrontation in the Gulf.

Simply - Manufacturing consent 12**Storm damage 14**

Ordinary Arab people are paying the heaviest price for the Gulf War. We take you on a whistlestop tour: **Abdulaziz Al-Saqqaf** reports from Yemen, **Jill Hamburg** from Jordan, **Andrew Cohen** from Sudan, **Ian Williams** on the migrant labourers from Iraq and Kuwait.

THE GULF WAR - THE FACTS 18**The cavalry takes charge 20**

The coffee's cold and the soda water's flat at the UN Security Council. **Olivia Ward** describes how hopes faded on the diplomatic front line.

**Torching the Earth 24**

Who were the real environmental villains? **Joni Seager** investigates.

Not in our names 27

Alastair Hulbert and **Alastair McIntosh** recall how they resisted the War.

Letters 2**Letter from Lahore 3****Updates 29****Reviews: including Carpentier classic 32****Curiosities 34****Endpiece: by Israel Shamir 35****Country profile: Malaysia 36**

FRONT COVER PHOTOGRAPH: ABBAS / MAGNUM

THIS MONTH'S THEME

The Gulf War

FROM THIS MONTH'S EDITOR

To be an editor here you also have to be a picture researcher. Once you've finished honing your contributors' prose and laid down your grand plans for the magazine you set off for the picture agencies. There you rifle through files and, if you are me, you get distracted by the pictures and forget what it is you're looking for. Often you're after something like 'a positive image of bicycles which includes human interest somewhere in the Pacific'. There's probably only one and you're sure to have used it before.

This time, with the Gulf War, I thought finding the right pictures would be easy. But after I'd been working for a while I began to feel quite ill. Only once before have I seen so many sickening pictures in such a short space of time, and that was when I was still in my teens, at a memorial to the holocaust in Dachau. Now a procession of mutilated

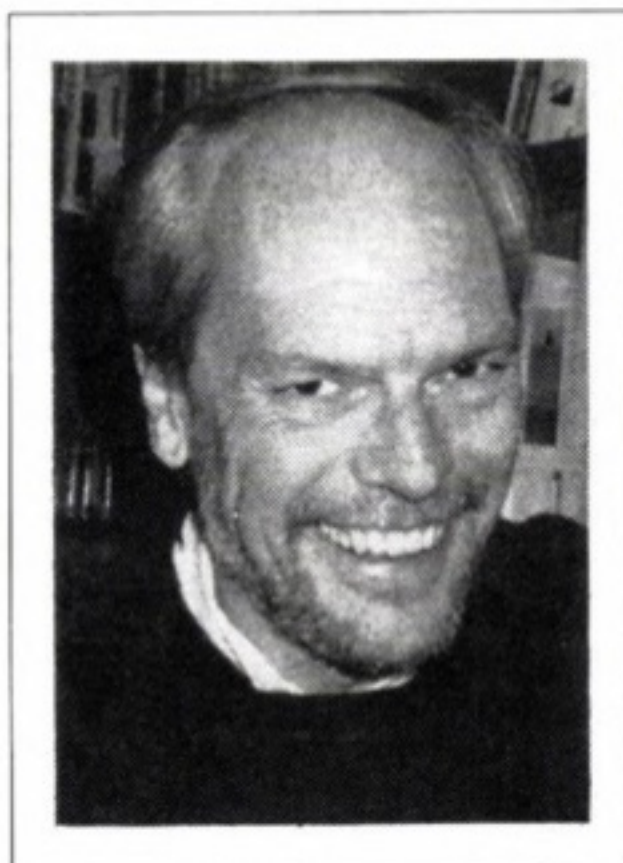
bodies in the Arabian Desert passed before my eyes, caught in grotesque poses, carbonized.

I was shocked that despite all the TV I watched, the newspapers and magazines I read while the War was on, I had not seen most of these pictures before. Nor, despite my general sense of outrage at the War, had I felt so sharply what it must have been like to be on the receiving end of the most savage bombardment since World War Two.

Researching the Gulf War you keep bumping into simple truths spoken only in whispers, if at all. We all knew that the Gulf War was really about oil but for the most part we preferred not to say so. Now, as I write, we can be pretty sure that President Bush is sitting down somewhere plotting his next move

against Saddam Hussein and that no-one round the table with him will say what they all know to be true, that the point is to win the next US Presidential Election for George Bush.

But it's as well not to get too superior about such things. I have a beloved godson who kept a scrapbook during the War. It's filled with graphic illustrations of all the fancy ironmongery, the battle plans and so forth – the sort of thing that grabbed me when I was a boy. He would thumb through it zapping this and that, crying 'brilliant!' and uttering blood-curdling oaths against Saddam Hussein, and I would reprove him for keeping it. I borrowed it off him to do this magazine. I'm not quite sure whether I owe you an apology, but thanks anyway, James.



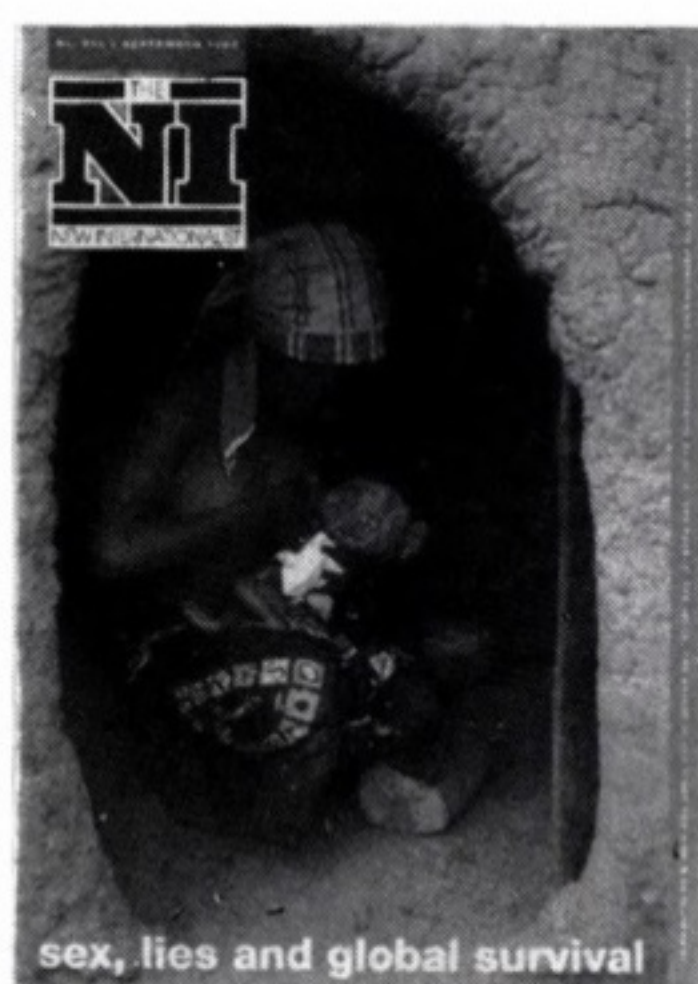
David Ransom.

David Ransom
for the *New Internationalist* Co-operative

Heal thyself

Thank you, Anuradha Vittachi, for producing such an illuminating and disconcerting analysis of the Northern obsession with Southern population growth in **NI 235** (*Sex, lies and global survival*).

The idea of the 'healer



myth' – and the arrogance of the Northern healers – can be applied to many other aspects of the North-South relationship. It's not relevant only to the population and environment debate.

Equally troubling (and illuminating) I find that it can be applied to personal relationships too. For example, I am compelled to recognize how much easier I find it to focus on another person's problems and try to help them than to go through all the difficult and painful business of what might be wrong with me.

But what about the **NI** – month after month diagnosing the world's ills and suggesting cures? Is the **NI** itself not caught up in the healer myth, locked into its (arrogant?) 'healer' identity? I don't know quite where this line of thought leads – and I certainly don't intend to rubbish the **NI** – but perhaps it's worth thinking about.

G Forsyth
Nottingham, UK

Dead straight

I am surprised by Dr Pat Murtagh's suggestion (*Letters NI 234*) that identification with any subculture is a political dead end. Of course subcultures offer identity and emphasize their differences from the 'general population' – just as



The **New Internationalist** welcomes your letters. But please keep them short. They may be edited for purposes of space or clarity. Include a home telephone number if possible and send your letters to the nearest editorial office. The address is inside the front cover.

mainstream culture sells its own identity and distances itself from anything unusual or different.

But as our culture becomes ever more homogenous, impersonal and inhuman it is more important to challenge that culture by seeking alternative ways to be. If we shy away from leaving behind conventional society, how can we ever challenge the rampant consumerism and materialism which are intrinsic to it? Perhaps it is those who stick within the mainstream who can best be described as 'essentially dead'.

Mark Berry
Sheffield, UK

Blacklisting boys

Without prejudice to the ethics of gender-slanted abortion, the idea of aborting female fetuses seems to be the less attractive of the two options (*Letters NI 234*). A world in which there was a huge surplus of men would be one in which the female minority would be ill-used in all ways (from smarmy

patronage to brutal rape) even more than they are now; in which agriculture in poorer parts of the world would simply not get done; a world of more posturing, more aggression and more war.

Aborting boys selectively would be altogether better for the human race – and more fun for the few permitted males. It would be a case for men, of 'many culled but few chosen' – and a good job too I suggest.

Eric Stockton
Sanday, Orkney, UK

Colonial goose

In her article (*Updates NI 234*) Ann Wietz suggests that China's shadow is a threat to Hong Kong's future, but I think another threat is 'the colonial expatriate syndrome'.

Hong Kong is the goose that lays a golden egg which will soon belong to someone else and some colonial expatriates are trying to get as many benefits as possible in the remaining time. Take the tendering of building contracts for the new airport project.

Lam Chiu-wan,
Birmingham, UK

Clerical cul-de-sac

I read Carla Power's reflections on Islam with interest (*Endpiece NI 234*). Islam's strengths do need greater acknowledgement from the West. But Islam does not automatically represent a progressive force. The Iranian revolution has led to economic stagnation and new forms of political and cultural oppression rather than modernization. The same in Sudan and Afghanistan. Indeed these countries are setting their faces against modernity.

Islam will no doubt survive, but secularization processes associated with global capitalism will inevitably undermine the programmes of religious fundamentalists and reactionaries. The downtrodden of the world deserve better than to be led up a clerical blind alley.

Peter Somerville
Manchester, UK

Disability dues

After reading the issue of **NI** on disability (*Disabled lives NI 233*), I wonder if organizations have changed their policies towards us. United Nations statistics underestimate that 10 per cent of the world's population has a disability. Are 10 per cent of the resources in *your* organization allocated to people with disabilities?

E Catherine Boldt
Disabled Peoples' International, Winnipeg,
Manitoba, Canada

Money hungry

Regarding your excellent development issue (*A guide to the ruins NI 232*), poverty is always a relative term. When I worked in the World Bank as Director of its Health Services Department (1989-1990), the organization's annual report that year stated that 'the central goal of the World Bank is the reduction of poverty'. Yet, its staff, with many of them driving a BMW or a Mercedes, often complained about their 'insufficient' tax-free salaries – although these were at least 20 per cent higher than those of their UN colleagues in New York (which is a more expensive city than Washington).

Michael Irwin
New York, US

As part of our plan to reduce world poverty I suggest you raise my living standard by a larger BMW



Charity charge

I was disappointed that NI should allow UNICEF to advertise in your magazine (NI 233). I only hope they did not pay you.

Having recently returned from 18 months working in south Sudan I would like to point out – not with any great originality – that UNICEF is one of the world's worst bureaucracies, which repeatedly during my time in Sudan appointed high-paid, incompetent 'experts' to preside over large budgets and important decisions, with the result that local people were deliberately not consulted, huge wastage ensued and the health of children rarely improved.

I would urge people to give donations to some of the smaller and more accountable organizations trying to work with and not on the world's poorest people.

Richard Byng
Arundel, UK

The views expressed on the letters page are not necessarily those of the NI.

OBITUARY

Bill Raeper, writer, contributor to NI, and Nepal expert died in the Thai Airbus tragedy on July 31 with his friend and colleague Martin Hoftun. Raeper was 33 years old, Hoftun was 28. Together they had written a study of the Nepalese revolution, *Spring Awakening*, which will be published this autumn. They were planning further work on the crisis in Bhutan. Martin, a quadriplegic studying at Oxford, was a vigorous campaigner for disabled students' rights. Bill was his great friend and helper.

With Linda Smith, Bill Raeper also wrote educational books, including *A Beginner's Guide to Ideas: Religion and Philosophy, Past and Present* (1991). Bill will be remembered by his friends and colleagues as a kind, humorous, thoughtful and spiritual man.

LETTER from LAHORE

Wretched of the Earth

Dishonour makes Pakistan's poorest women desperate. Maria del Nevo takes a look at life on the wrong side of middle-class morality.

EVERY morning at dawn Qulsom, Bhagan and Sardaran walk the city streets with sacks slung over their backs, and pick up litter – paper, leather, copper and plastic – which they sell to intermediaries who then sell for a far greater price to recycling factories.

They are three of the thousands of women who walk miles around the suburbs to clear away debris from the streets. They are notorious for stealing and the *chowkidars* or nightwatch people eye them very suspiciously. Although they are Muslim, these women are regarded as social outcasts along with Christian road sweepers and sanitation workers.

Qulsom stands arrogantly in the doorway of my office. 'Give me a cigarette and I will tell you about myself,' she says. I give her the cigarette and she inhales deeply, filling the room with smoke before walking away without a word to join her friends.

'Come to Begum Court,' she says over her shoulder and I watch them walk away, their deep, coarse voices and their raucous laughter drifting on the chilly morning air.

Next day, intrigued by the name Begum Court – Begum meaning 'grand lady' – I take a jeep with a colleague and travel far beyond the city.

Thin, scantily-dressed children tiptoe barefoot through muddy narrow lanes. Women peep through cracks in doors and window shutters. I feel as if I am standing on the edge of the world.

We ask after Qulsom, but no-one recalls her. 'Cover your head,' my colleague snaps at me as he tries to control a crowd of men which has formed around us. Everyone is talking, laughing. I feel exposed and uneasy, until at last someone leads us to Sardaran's house.

We sit in a neat, but sparsely furnished room with Qulsom, Sardaran and Bhagan. 'We earn one rupee (three cents) for a kilo of paper,' Sardaran tells us, 'four rupees (twelve cents) for a kilo of copper. And we're lucky to collect even two or three kilos a day.'

'My husband is in prison,' she continues without regret. 'He was such a criminal I took him to the police myself.' Doesn't she fear what he'll do when he comes out? 'No,' she says, 'he's not capable of anything. Most of our husbands

are drug addicts, and they never do any work.'

She talks as if discussing a delinquent child, yet with a strong undertone of loyalty. Perhaps she is the only one who understands her man.

Meanwhile Qulsom stares at me challengingly. 'She's been divorced three times,' someone explains, 'she can't have children.' Qulsom pulls a nonchalant face, then smiles, sarcastically, as if laughing at the world. 'You want to know about us? We are not Hindu, Christian or Muslim. We can't read and we don't know anything...' A trail of smoke comes out of her nostrils and she looks away in disgust.

The stories of abuse continue: the woman who was raped by a depot *chowkidar* while she squatted between the seats, picking up paper and anything else she could find; the nine-year-old girl who was molested by police after being arrested for stealing.

There is no-one to help these women. They have been dishonoured by society and then stigmatized as 'immoral'.

'And now,' Qulsom says, her voice breaking though the chatter of the other women, 'we have

found another way of making money.' There is an uncomfortable silence before the other women begin to giggle and I realize what they are talking about. Qulsom raises her head and stares at me with the same expression of challenge.

Disillusioned with the city's so-called middle-class morality, Begum Court and the surrounding colony exists as a separate state, with its own rules and regulations, its own culture and lifestyle. If a woman can seduce a male neighbour and earn a hundred rupees then she will. 'We do it in the fields, or an empty building,' says Qulsom with a twisted smile.

I leave Begum Court totally drained. I feel like I have travelled many continents, yet I have only driven about 20 kilometres. And, ever since, when I see the paper women sitting on the roadsides resting, or bending down to pick up pieces of paper, I can't help looking out for Qulsom who, although she remains detached, has managed to tell me so much.

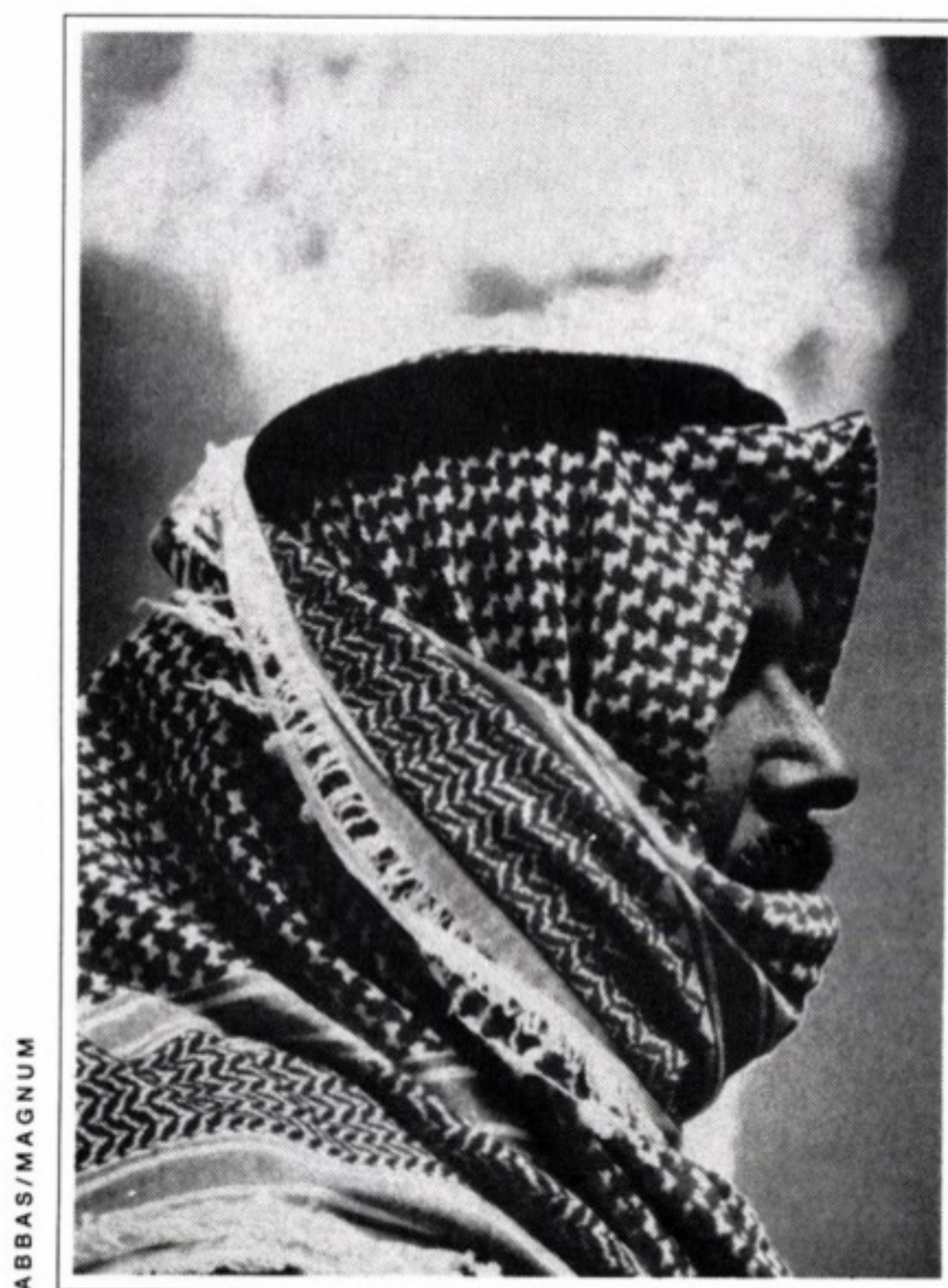
Maria del Nevo is a former NI staff member who now lives and works in Lahore.



MIRIAM MCCURDY



The Gulf in flames



Politicians and the media sold us an image of the Gulf War as the cleanest, most sanitized war ever. And we bought it. Or did we?

David Ransom tests the shoddy goods.

'As one of the last things to see before you are blinded, it was something else,' says Paul Jefferson. 'At least if I end up in hell I'll know what it looks like.'

It was June 1991. Paul was among the first bomb-disposal engineers into Kuwait after the end of the Gulf War. He was working freelance, clearing paths for the fire-fighters to the burning oil well-heads.

'Under the thickest part of the smoke clouds it was pitch black. You'd be driving with vehicle headlights on and it was like midnight, the stench of oil all around you, the oppressive heat and roaring from the

well-heads, having to raise your voice to talk, just shouting at each other, the constant hiss, as you were driving, of tyres on tarmac soaked with oil. You could sometimes see beneath the smoke, all around you, maybe 20 burning wells and lakes of oil. It was surreal, like something out of Dante's *Inferno*.'

Then it happened.

'We were in an area it was reasonable to assume wasn't mined, and it was. I hit an anti-personnel mine. Two others next to it were detonated sympathetically and that was it. I got blown up. It was very loud and hurt like fuck – we had no morphine. There

was about an hour and a half of consciousness, my leg pretty well gone below the knee, big holes in me, I'd been blinded. We drove back across the desert and I kind of slipped under. The next thing I knew I was having spectacular dreams in intensive care in Charing Cross Hospital.'

Paul is reflective by nature, and not just because he's been injured. Gung-ho he is not. He's a professional soldier, one of the very few people on the anti-Saddam Coalition side of the Gulf War who has had a personal price to pay for it. Yet he's convinced that the War was right.

'Nothing is worth my sight, let me



SEBASTIAO SALGADO/MAGNUM

assure you. But we don't live in a perfect world. The best we can do is look after our own interests. I would feel very disappointed and suspicious of the leadership of whatever country I lived in if it went to war for any other reason.

'That is what we were doing in the Gulf. For us, like it or not, the oil-producing areas of the Middle East are a vital economic interest. The Iraqis just walked into Kuwait armed to the teeth. Saddam could have pulled out, but he didn't. It's a simple issue: he'd walked on someone else's turf and that's not on.

'I would say that it was better that it happened than that it didn't.'

I disagree with him. I think, on the contrary, that the Gulf War was a misconceived adventure that resolved nothing.

At the time huge media networks spoke with great conviction and one voice, promoting what appeared to be a just cause. Saddam was demonized, the Kuwaitis sanctified. The Gulf War was a buzz, a free video game for real, The Big Story written in human blood, crowned with triumph. It had to be right – and so few body bags came back West that there was no need for a post-mortem. Everyone hurried to get on side.

Two impeccable moral reasons were mixed with oil to justify the Gulf War. The first was Saddam Hussein, the 'Modern Hitler', the 'Butcher of Baghdad', the

tyrant who ate human rights for breakfast. Something had to be done about him. The second was Kuwait. One small state, a member of the UN, had been invaded by its much larger neighbour. The principles of 'non-aggression' and 'territorial integrity' had to be upheld or the world would fall to anarchy and chaos.

Well, Saddam Hussein became if anything more deeply entrenched and thoroughly objectionable as a result of the War than he had been before it began. Above all, when the War ended, he was still there.

The reason why

As for Kuwait, sure enough, after a brief excursion to the casinos of Monte Carlo, the nasty little regime that had been ousted by Saddam Hussein was reinstated. But the principle of non-aggression was certainly not engraved more deeply into the hearts of world leaders. The US itself would be horrified by the suggestion that it should renounce its history of invasions across Central America, most recently in Grenada and Panama.

So neither of the two moral principles on which the War was fought survive closer examination. Paul Jefferson is right. The real reason we went to war was to protect Western oil interests and affluence. Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Kuwait and Abu Dhabi now have more than half the world's remaining

Death in the desert: the real cost of Western affluence was paid by others.

oil reserves, a larger proportion than 20 years ago. Without it Western industrial society, which in its turn consumes well over half the world's oil, would be unable to function.

The West has gone to great lengths to retain complete control over Arab oil. In the Arab world it has favoured tyranny and client states to democracy. That is why there is Arab hostility to the West and why, when Saddam turned on his sponsors and challenged the status quo, he had to be put in his place. Practical self-interest perhaps, but hardly a glorious cause for war.

This same lack of principle characterized the conduct of the War itself. You would have to return to the days of European colonial conquest before you came across another example of a 'war' where there were so many more casualties on one side than on the other, which is what happened during Desert Storm – the air and ground assaults that began on 16 January 1991.

Very little evidence has ever emerged that Saddam's much-vaunted, battled-hardened army of a million men really existed. If it did not, then the Coalition's brilliant military victory was a brutal massacre, mere idle entertainment for a bored bully.

(cont/d...)

Chronicle of war in the Gulf

Desert Storm was the latest in a series of conflicts that have plagued Iraq since the discovery of oil.

1914

British troops land at Shatt al-Arab to protect the Anglo-Persian oil installations at Abadan.

1916

Sykes-Picot Agreement is secretly signed by Britain and France, dividing the Middle East into spheres of influence after the fall of the Ottoman Empire.

1917

The British capture Baghdad.

1920

San Remo Agreement: League of Nations awards Britain the mandate for Iraq.

1921

British colonial commissioner Sir Percy Cox draws the lines on the map that demarcate the future Iraq from Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

1931

Iraq granted independence; British bases remain.

1961

Britain grants Kuwait independence. Iraq claims Kuwait; British and Arab League troops deployed to defend it.

1979

Iranian 'fundamentalist' revolution. Saddam Hussein takes power in Iraq.

1980

Iraq invades Iran – 'first' Gulf War begins.

1988

Iran-Iraq War ends.

1990

July 16: Iraq accuses Kuwait of stealing \$2.4 billion of oil from Iraqi oil fields.

August 2: Iraqi army invades Kuwait.

August 7: King Fahd 'invites' US forces into Saudi Arabia.

November 8: US forces in Gulf increased to possible 430,000.

November 29: UN Security Council passes Resolution 678 authorizing use of 'all necessary means' unless Iraq withdraws from Kuwait by January 15.

1991

January 15: UN deadline for Iraqi withdrawal.

January 16: Air bombardment launched.

January 17: Iraq launches four Scud missiles against Israel.

February 5: Coalition bombing missions against Iraq reach 41,000.

February 23: US launches ground war and announces press blackout.

February 25: Saddam Hussein announces pull-out from Kuwait.

February 26: Iraq says it will accept any terms.

February 27: President Bush announces end of hostilities at midnight.

March 3: US and Iraqi generals meet and Iraq accepts all terms.

The closer you look, the more you discover an act of 'total war' against a cultured and basically defenceless civil society. It took two forms. Aerial bombardment 'took out' the electricity supply, water, sewage, irrigation and food-production systems, the basic means of life of the Iraqi people, returning them to a pre-industrial age.

In addition the Iraqi people have been subjected to the most savage economic sanctions ever imposed by the United Nations. Let's be clear about this. Goaded by the US, the UK and France, the UN Security Council ordered that food and medical supplies to Iraq be intercepted – in complete contravention of international law, including the Geneva Convention and the UN Charter itself. The Iraqi people are critically dependent for their very existence upon imported food and medical supplies.

The effect on them has been devastating – and regularly dismissed in the West as Iraqi propaganda. According to Dr Margaret Fakhoury, paediatrician at the Elizabeth Hospital in Essen, Germany, as many as 100,000 Iraqi children have already died and a further 90,000 may die by May 1993 for want of the medicines and food embargoed by the

UN Security Council.

There are no drugs and no vaccines in Iraq. Blood transfusions are made without tests for Hepatitis B or cross-matching. Leukaemia, cancer and dialysis patients remain untreated. Antibiotics, anti-coagulants, drugs for cardiac patients, syringes (the syringe factory was bombed), sterile dressings, saline drips – all are missing.

Luay's story

Listen to Luay's story. He lives in Basra, southern Iraq. He became a volunteer in a neighbourhood rescue scheme formed by parents and children during the Coalition bombing.

His worst recurring memory is of a head. The rescuers came across it in a ruined building. They were trying to identify human remains. So the head was carefully passed around in the hope that someone might know who it was.

Luay did. It was a school friend. Night after night he now dreams that he has the head in his pocket and is pulling it out to hand round for identification. He is just 13 years old. No wonder that in Basra, according to a detailed survey, most children feel they will not live to become adults.¹

Many people at the time – including the NI – supported sanctions as an alternative to war. It has become clear since, however, that in practice sanctions were enforced not as an *alternative* to war but as an adjunct to it.

Most observers now agree that from a very early stage, and certainly once large US troop commitments had been made by November 1990, the Coalition was committed to war – Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait was 'talked up' as the 'nightmare scenario'. From that point on the priority was to reduce the likely number of Coalition casualties. Using sanctions to enfeeble the Iraqi population as a whole, and to sap the will and the ability of ordinary soldiers to fight, was seen as one way of achieving this.

The argument for sanctions was that they might in some way induce the people of Iraq to get Saddam Hussein to leave Kuwait, if not the presidential bunker in Baghdad. But how? The Coalition partners had built Saddam up as a counter weight in the war with 'fundamentalist' Iran and had helped to fashion Iraq into a very efficient tyranny. Quite how they imagined that the Iraqi people might now rise up and overthrow Saddam Hussein is far from clear.

The answer is that they were not really supposed to overthrow him at all. Not until the Coalition, which had miscalculated so badly, was ready to take control of the aftermath. When the uprisings duly came after the War had finished, from the Kurds in the north and the Shia in the south, the Coalition sat on its hands. The uprisings were duly cut to pieces by the Republican Guards who had mysteriously surfaced intact from Desert Storm and on whom Saddam relied for his power. The most terrible suffering followed.

So we can see, in retrospect, that there was no justification for sanctions to be used in this way. This kind of 'total war' visited on the Iraqi people for strictly military purposes is not unprecedented, but history may – and in my view certainly should – judge it to have been a crime against humanity.

Why should the Iraqi people now support the Coalition? Bomb Baghdad again, or police a 'no fly' zone over the Marsh Arabs in the south, and Saddam's defiance of the West enhances his prestige. Stage incidents, get rid of him, replace him with a more pliable tyrant, dismember Iraq into new client states, and 'fundamentalist' Arab sentiment – the backdrop of Arab hostility to the West against which the Gulf War was set – gains in appeal. The long-term security of Western oil supplies remains as illusory as ever. Violence begets violence.

In the face of so much human suffering the material and financial extravagance of the Gulf War pales into insignificance. It is

said to have cost the US something in the region of \$70 billion, the complete and continuing exercise perhaps \$100 billion. Add in the cost of reconstruction in Kuwait and Iraq, the cost of bribing Arab states into joining the 'Cash Register Coalition', the cost to the migrant labourers who were evicted or forced to flee from the Gulf, and you can easily double that figure.

True to form, however, even the financial cost has not been paid for by the military partners in the Coalition. They recouped their losses from their client Gulf states and from the non-participant economic giants Germany and Japan. The US may even have made a 'small' (perhaps five billion dollar) profit.²

The real cost

And so the sorry saga continues. The West is now more dependent than ever on oil from the Gulf. The development of alternative sources of energy has been postponed and the globe keeps warming up with carbon dioxide from oil-powered cars, factories and power stations. Desert Storm did nothing but harm to the environment.

It introduced us instead to what you might call 'hi-tech diplomacy', the intimidatory effect and devastating results of remote-controlled weapons technology – an updated version of the 'gunboat diplomacy' of old. The North-South divide, which fuels most of the potential conflicts in the world, grows deeper.

The Arab-Israel conflict remains unresolved. Unwisely perhaps, the Palestinians opposed Desert Storm. That weakened their position and Israel became more intransigent. Agreement became a more distant prospect. The new Labour Government in Israel may be more

amenable, but that is the result not of the War but of elections – a salutary lesson.

We are also left with a shambolic United Nations, its credibility seriously compromised. There is a price for this to be paid in places like the Balkans where UN authority is a matter of life and death.

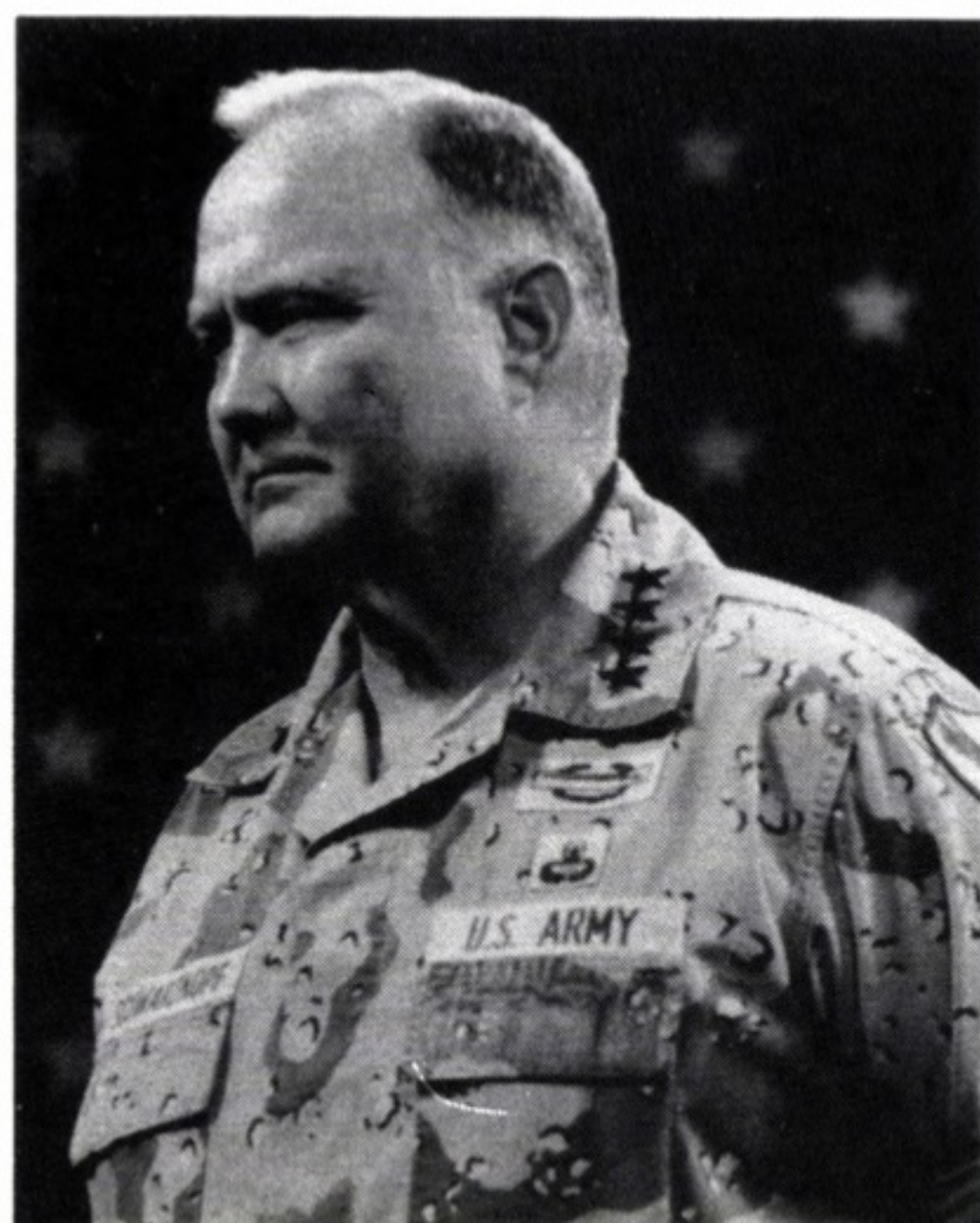
Never again must sanctions be used as they have been against the Iraqi people. Never again can any member state be given UN authority to use 'all necessary means' to settle a score. Nor can the Security Council postpone change to a structure – the five Permanent Members with veto rights – which has survived since 1948, when colonial empires were still the order of the day.

But to get a true picture of the real cost of the Gulf War you have, I think, to return to that day, 2 August 1990, when Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait. The world was just emerging, blinking and incredulous, from the bunkers of the Cold War. There was a deep longing for peace.

Almost *no-one* supported Saddam's invasion of Kuwait. It's very important to remember this – that opposition to Desert Storm does not imply support for the invasion. Equally, almost no-one suggested that a massive US-led offensive would be an appropriate response.

Saddam's powerful sponsors in the West – *their* miscalculations, *their* interference in the affairs of the Arab world, *their* evidently well-founded mistrust of their own client regimes in the region – had seen to it that the task of tackling him would not be easy.

But who knows? If Arab opinion had been heeded (it is, after all, their region); if some thought had been given to what the Iraqi people wanted; if basic principles of democracy, human rights, international law



'What we say goes': Stormin' Norman Schwarzkopf presides over a massacre.

and environmental conservation had been upheld; who then *knows* that Saddam Hussein would have got away with it?

All we do know for certain is that he survived. The only principle that survives with him is that you're not serious about anything unless you blow it up.

Warrior culture

From his experiences as a professional soldier Paul Jefferson knows about this, the 'warrior culture' that drove the West and Saddam Hussein into battle.

'Yes, I know about the pain, the suffering, the pointlessness of war – and the glory,' he told me. 'You idealists on the Left can't see that. Look, I've sat in a helicopter breathing in the fumes of aviation fuel, my weapon hanging over the side, setting out to do the most serious business there is, to take the life of another man, and I've felt as if I were Achilles, as if I were a fucking god. Well I wasn't. I was mortal. I'm more humble now. But I have to tell you, those moments were like stars twinkling in a black morass.'

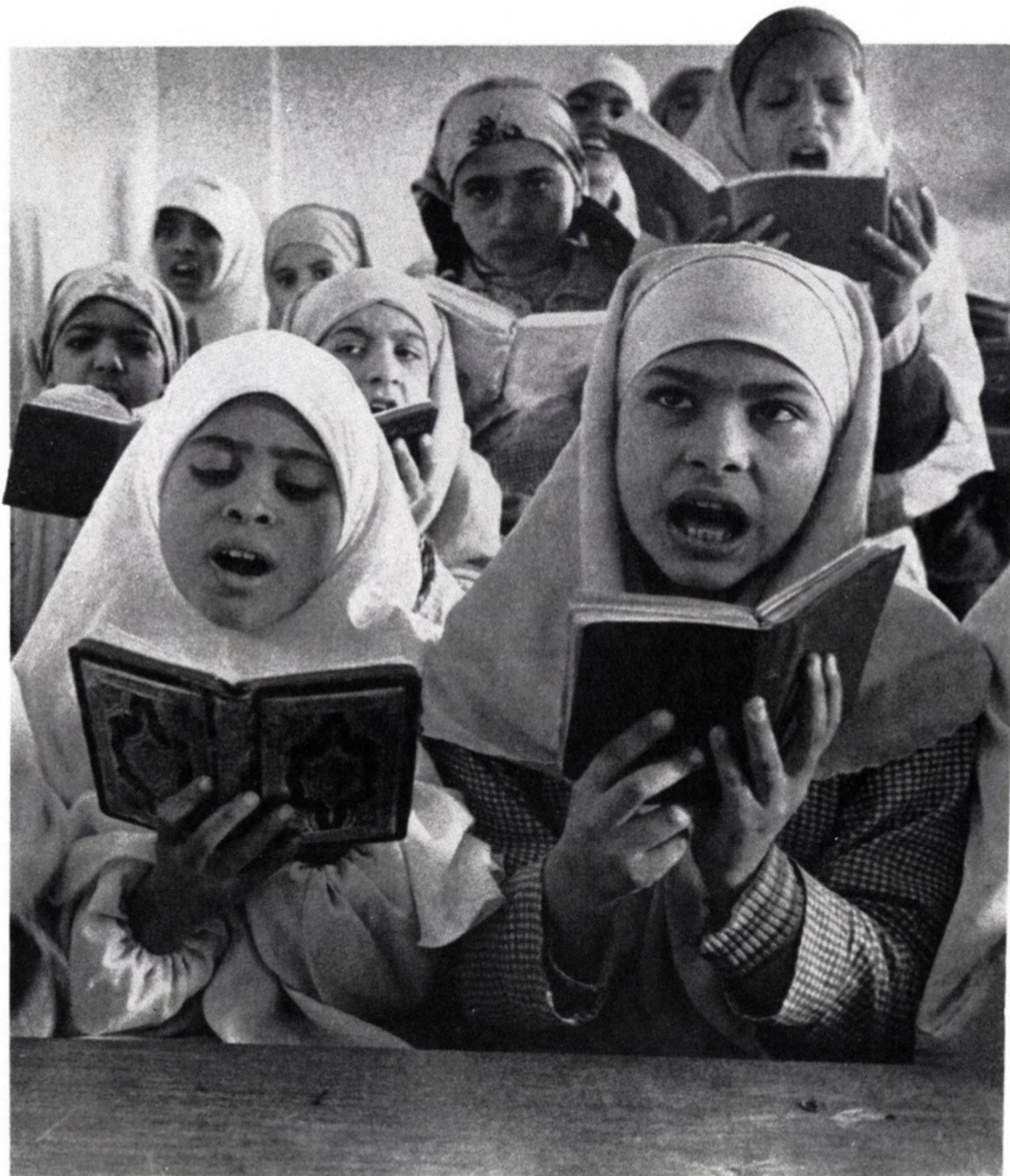
We got drunk, and I was glad we'd met – glad, I have to say, that with a Kalashnikov assault rifle propped against the fireplace he is now no more of a god than I am. Glad, too, that there are other, less spiteful stars for us both to travel by. Those same stars warn me, at any rate, not to follow a course dictated by the Committee to Re-elect President Bush. At least *this* war, for *these* reasons and in *this* way should never, ever have been fought. ■

1 Information supplied by Felicity Arbuthnot, who visited Iraq earlier this year, and based on the evidence collected in Iraq by the UNICEF mission and the Harvard team of physicians. 2 'The Other Face of War' by Eric Hoogland (Middle East Report no 171, July/August 1991).

Defenceless civilians in Kirkuk flee from bombing, brutality and betrayal.



Patriarchs and petroculture



The Gulf War increased the pressure on Arab women to stay at home or hide behind the veil. Nawal El Saadawi tells her own story.



her since I live in Cairo and am a doctor. But I cannot. I too am at my wits' end.

I was a member of an international women's delegation which visited Iraq during the first week of January 1991, before the War started. Motivated by the dream that women could prevent the War, we were active for many months.

But the decision to go to war had already been taken years earlier – an imperialist plan aimed at capturing the sources of oil and other natural riches. The world is ruled by the war weapons industry and by a patriarchal class system that's as old as slavery. This Western industrial-military force sees the Arab region as little more than an oil reserve or gas station from which it can take what it wants, when it wants and at a price it decides.

It is no secret either that the majority of Arab governments are despotic regimes which oppress anyone who merely expresses a different opinion – as they did during the Gulf War.

When we started the Arab Women's Solidarity Association in 1982 our aim was to rally Arab women behind the slogans 'Consciousness and Knowledge' and 'Unveiling the Mind'.

As an Arab woman born at the start of the 1930s I have lived through a series of wars and crises. My poor rural family in the village by the Nile has lost many young men, from the war of 1948 via the 'Suez' crisis of 1956 to the wars of 1967, 1973 and 1991. Doubtless we will lose more in years to come.

Each time I travel to my village, Kufr Tahla, and meet Na'ima, the daughter of my aunt Fatima, she asks me: 'Is there any news about my son?' He has been missing since the war of 1967. He has become just a number among the dead. But every night she dreams that he is alive, a prisoner in some Israeli prison, and that one day he will come back.

Another aunt lost her son in Iraq. A relative of mine, Rasmiya, lost three sons in the Gulf War. One was killed in Baghdad when a thousand bombs fell in an air raid.

The second was buried alive with conscripts in Kuwait. The third was in an underground trench in Saudi Arabia with soldiers who were killed by a rocket. Each time she meets me she cries and says: 'It's madness for brother to be killing brother.'

Rasmiya envies my aunt because the body of her son who died in Iraq came back in a coffin and was buried in the village cemetery beside his grandparents. But Rasmiya has not seen the body of any of her three sons.

The sons of kings and presidents and ministers and the ruling classes seldom go to war. The defence of the homeland is the exclusive responsibility of the poor. How do they profit from it?

Na'ima is a poor rural woman who cannot read or write. She has heard that some compensation is being paid for those missing in the War. She wants me to help

Arab women's power is almost absent and their opinions are not taken into account in any of the most important issues facing their countries, including decisions about war. In Iraq women have reached a relatively high level of education and paid work, but still remain marginal – although after years of war they are now in the majority, forcing a change to family law which now permits polygamy.

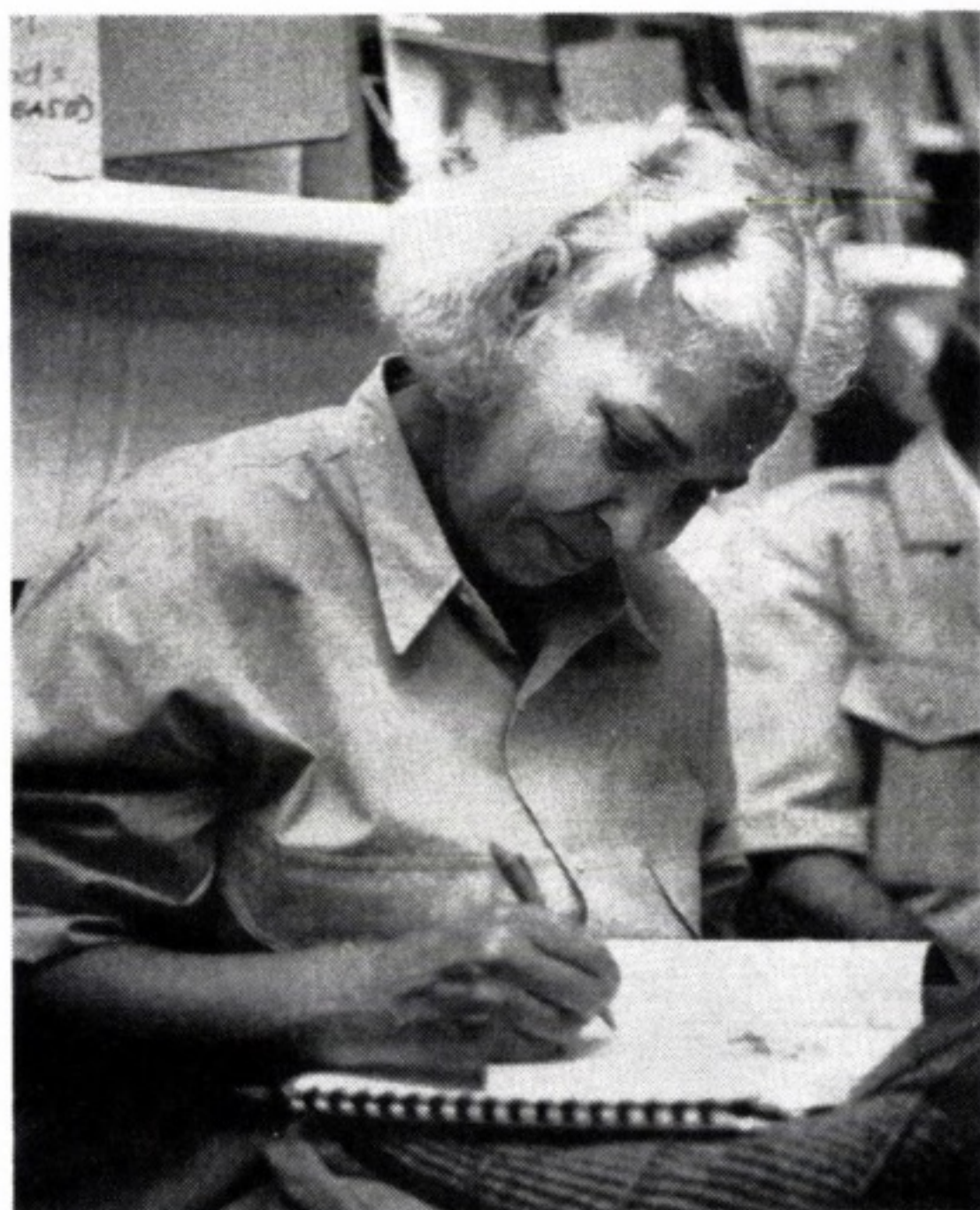
In Kuwait, the right to vote is granted only to men above the age of 21 who are able to read and write – just four per cent of the total population. Nevertheless, women in Kuwait are better off than women in Saudi Arabia who don't even have the right to drive, let alone vote.

Women in Egypt have difficulties too. In September 1990 we held a seminar on women's publishing in Cairo. The men and women participants issued a statement demanding the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the Gulf, of Iraqi troops from Kuwait and of Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories – as well as the use of oil revenues for the benefit of the majority of the common Arab people.

On 5 November the Director General at the Egyptian Ministry of Social Affairs wrote a secret report demanding the closure of the Egyptian Association for Arab Women's Solidarity, its magazine *Nuun* and its newsletters. It had, he reported, taken a position at variance with that of the Egyptian Government, opposed important Saudi religious personalities and published ideas against Islamic law. The report also recommended that I, as head of the Association, should be investigated for setting up an illegal organization.

On 22 November an official memorandum was issued by the Egyptian Ministry

Government target for investigation: Egyptian feminist, author and doctor, Nawal El Saadawi.



ABBAS/MAGNUM

'Liberation' left Kuwait littered with wrecked vehicles, charred bodies – and the emancipation of women a forgotten dream.

for Social Affairs forbidding us, under Clause 3 of the Law of Associations, from involving ourselves in religious or political affairs. On 15 June 1991 the Association was dissolved. We are still appealing against the decision. Lawyers expect that it will take two or three years before a verdict is issued.

The Gulf War has resulted in severe hardships throughout the Arab world. There is fragmentation among Arabs and Arab unity is dissolving. Poorer Arab countries like Sudan and Egypt face an economic crisis fuelled by foreign debt.

Even the oil-rich countries like Saudi Arabia and Kuwait are paying the US for the costs of destruction and reconstruction, and for the US armed forces which have remained in the Gulf on a semi-permanent basis. The Arab people are paying the price of their own occupation by others, the price of their own slavery.

There is also an increase in reactionary political trends in the form of 'fundamentalist' movements with religious slogans. Originally these flourished in the embrace of rulers who wanted to strike at 'leftist' or even liberal political trends, but they have expanded to the point where they present a threat to the very rulers who first encouraged them.

Islamic, Christian, Jewish or whatever they may be, they adopt the most backward ideas towards women, forcing them back inside the four domestic walls or to hide behind the *hijab* (veil). In my country, women are being offered as sacrificial lambs to protect the ruling authorities.

Since the Gulf War, Saudi domination of the Arab region has grown, spreading 'petroculture' which regards women as a blemish that must be completely covered, whose place is at home – a place which can only be escaped in illness or death – and who can hold no independent opinion of their own. Anyone who believes that religion belongs to God and the nation to all is an infidel deserving punishment, dismissal from work, expulsion from country, imprisonment or, sometimes, threats of death. From Saudi Arabia has emerged a blacklist of over 50 names of leading intellectuals, writers and poets in the Arab world – including mine.

In such a climate, women's liberation has retreated into the background; the gap between rich and poor, men and women, has widened. The patriarchal class system has become more vicious and tyrannical.

In our Arab world we must expose despotic local regimes which co-operate with imperialism and submit to this 'New World Order'. Otherwise Arab people will not have a better future and Arab women will not regain their usurped rights.

What increases my optimism most is that growing numbers of men and women around the world have become more conscious of these facts and understand better the importance of solidarity to create a genuinely New World Order in the next century.

Nawal El Saadawi's writings include *Woman at Point Zero* and *The Hidden Face of Eve: Women in the Arab World*. This article was translated from the Arabic by Shirley Eber.



Crazy for oil

Oil and arms ignited the Gulf explosion and set the fuse for future North-South conflict. Paul Rogers explains.

THE first months of 1974 were not a happy time for governments in Western Europe and North America. Across the industrialized world a full-blown energy crisis was in progress caused by Arab oil producers pushing up oil prices during the Yom Kippur/Ramadan War the previous October.

In Britain Edward Heath's Conservative Government was in greater difficulties as it tried to face down the coal miners who had embarked on a bitter strike over pay. Early in February Heath called a General Election on the issue – which he lost.

Just before the start of the election campaign a low-key ministerial statement to the House of Commons announced an agreement with the US which was to have far-reaching implications over the next 18 years. US armed forces were to expand massively their base on a British territory in the Indian Ocean, the collection of islands known as Diego Garcia, a mere spot on most maps.

The islands had been leased from Britain eight years previously as a communications centre. The Illois inhabitants had been 'transferred' against their will to Mauritius, where most were living in penury. Now the US intended to spend \$18 million (more than \$150 million at 1992 prices) on expanding harbour, storage and air-base facilities. Diego Garcia was to become one of the US's most powerful overseas bases, full of supplies for use in a future conflict in the Middle East.

Why? The roots of the situation reach back to the day in October 1973 when Egypt and Syria attacked Israel and the world oil

crisis began. Within a week, with US help, Israel was on the verge of victory. On 17 October the Arab members of the oil producers' group, OPEC, decided to use oil as their best weapon against Western support for Israel. Production was cut back to engineer an artificial scarcity, prices were hiked by 70 per cent and all oil exports to the US were halted.

A few days later the war ended in a cease-fire with Israel having to stop short of victory. By early 1974, oil prices had quadrupled, causing one analyst to comment that it represented the biggest redistribution of wealth since the Spanish plundered Latin American gold.

At the root of the success of the oil producers was the West's increasing dependence on OPEC oil. The Pentagon's biggest concern was the result of some military assessments done in the wake of the 1974 energy crisis which seemed to suggest that,

if the US *had* wanted to take over Middle East oil fields by armed force, they simply did not have the military capability to do so.

Throughout the rest of the 1970s the issue of resource supplies simmered away. By 1979, the US armed forces had their response – the establishment of the Joint Rapid Deployment Task Force. This included rapid-reaction army units, aircraft carriers, thousands of marines and hundreds of supporting ships and aircraft. In theory the Rapid Deployment Force could go anywhere, but its main sphere of operations was to be the Middle East.

The Force grew in importance when the far-right Ronald Reagan was elected in 1980. The new Cold War was under way, Afghanistan was Soviet-run, the fundamentalists controlled Iran and Uncle Sam needed even more Middle East oil.

An expanded Rapid Deployment Force, to be called US Central Command or



ABBAS/MAGNUM

CENTCOM, would look after US security interests throughout the Middle East and South-West Asia, protecting Gulf oil from both the Ayatollahs and the much bigger Soviet threat. By 1984 CENTCOM was established with up to 400,000 troops based in the US and Europe for crisis response, some ready to move at a few hours notice. Diego Garcia was full to bursting.

Meanwhile war broke out between Iran and Iraq. Throughout this war Iraq was seen, by Kuwait and Saudi Arabia as well as the US, as a buffer against Iranian extremists. US support for Iraq reached a peak in April 1988 when forces assigned to CENTCOM destroyed key units of the Iranian navy in an afternoon, reportedly killing several hundred sailors. Soon afterwards, and faced with Iraqi success in land battles, Iran sued for peace, giving Saddam Hussein the opportunity to turn his attention to regional aggrandisement.

By mid-1990 Iraq was deep in a bitter argument with Kuwait over the latter's oil pricing policy. Other Arab states attempted to mediate in the dispute, but failed. Within days of the Iraqi invasion that followed, the US military were dusting down CENTCOM plans for threats to Gulf oil. The biggest exercise in military force projection in a generation was under way, with the head of CENTCOM, General Norman Schwarzkopf, at its helm.

The West was now, if anything, even more dependent on Gulf oil than it had been in 1973. After the 1973-4 oil price rises, most oil analysts had expected a surge in exploration, thereby decreasing the significance of the Gulf. To some extent this happened, with substantial discoveries in Alaska, the North Sea and Mexico.

But what surprised the industry was that much larger reserves were discovered back in the Middle East, especially in the western Gulf states. Kuwait alone had nearly three times the oil reserves of the whole of the US. Iraq had even more and, together with Kuwait, controlled one fifth of world oil reserves. Saudi Arabia had another quarter, and Abu Dhabi a further tenth. These four territories alone controlled 55 per cent of all the world's oil.

What really worried the West was the control of long-term reserves. These were becoming more significant by the year as European and North American reserves were run down. Saddam Hussein was simply too great a risk for his action against Kuwait to be accepted.

The military planners back in the 1970s may have seen the Soviets as the main threat to the US in the Gulf, but their planning had ensured that the US could now go to war against Iraq, using the huge forces committed to CENTCOM. This would safeguard oil supplies for the West, demonstrate US resolve to protect its interests by force

where necessary and, more generally, establish that there was only one superpower in the post-Cold War world. A New World Order would be established.

Desert Storm has been hailed by the US military as the classic example of 'keeping the violent peace' in this New World Order. The talk is now of the need to safeguard security in a deeply polarized, violent and unstable world. The language used is blunt. The prestigious *Proceedings of the US Naval Institute* saw naval force projection as necessary to tackle 'that swirling pot of poison made up of zealots, crazies, drug-runners and terrorists'.

As defence budgets decline, analysts alight with fervour on the conflicts likely to

arise in a polarized, divided and insecure world. They call for more spending on anti-guerilla special-operations forces, on cruise missiles that can target Third World countries, on anti-missile systems that can destroy Third World ballistic missiles, and even on new mini-nuclear weapons intended specifically for 'small wars in far-off places'. Within a year of the end of the Cold War, the lines of conflict are already being drawn for a progressive North-South confrontation, for which the Gulf War was a dangerous model. ■

Paul Rogers is Professor of Conflict Analysis at Bradford University. His most recent book with Malcolm Dando is *A Violent Peace: Global Security After the Cold War*, (Brassey's, London, 1992).

Forgotten army

Saddam Hussein told his soldiers to prepare for death.
Jill Hamburg talks to some of the survivors.

In the winter of 1991, across an expanse of desert, half a million young Iraqi men faced the most powerful array of military power that had ever been amassed.

'Nadar', an Iraqi Christian who had already spent eight years in Saddam Hussein's Republican Guards, was among them. 'It was like a big storm which destroys everything,' he says. 'At least the Iran war didn't touch the life in our towns.'

'Issa' - another Iraqi soldier afraid to use his real name - was across the border in Kuwait. 'Even today my friends are still nervous, like a bottle with the cork ready to pop,' he says. 'We're still afraid aircraft will come and bomb us... When we weren't under attack we were worrying about our families who we knew had no food... You feel like you're going crazy. You get nervous at everything. Lots of men run away.'

There is no way to prepare mentally for the sight, smell and sound of modern warfare. Post-traumatic stress disorder or 'shell shock' affects as many as a third of all combat troops and some suffer permanent psychological scars. Symptoms include emotional withdrawal and temporary paralysis.

By early February Kuwaiti hospitals were filled with hundreds of wounded and thousands more were trying to reach them. The condition of Iraqi troops was worsening steadily in the absence of adequate food. At the same time the Iraqi Government barred the Red Cross from the area.

Iran, whose war reportage was often the most accurate, estimated 20,000 Iraqis dead and 60,000 wounded before the land battle even began. Epidemics were reported to be spreading in the South, where one million Iraqis had taken to the roads, fleeing the aggression against Basra.

About 10,000 Iraqis were taken prisoner in the first 12 hours of the War. Saddam Hussein went on radio and asked his men to be ready to die. The following day 20,000 Iraqis surrendered. One group seemed to stretch from horizon to horizon holding wooden poles flying white vests. Barefoot survivors who had seen dozens of their compatriots killed said they had



Iraqis suffered many times more casualties than the US-led Coalition.

had no food and little water for days. 'It's not our war,' surrendering soldiers told journalists.

On 26 February Saddam Hussein ordered his armies to withdraw. News reports said his commanders had begged him to do so for days. Whole divisions, the Coalition said, had been 'disabled or destroyed'. Iraq's army 'had disintegrated'. The Coalition used grenades to 'clear' trenches of soldiers.

Later, along the 'highway of death' from Kuwait, Radio Tehran reported the War's fiercest bombing. Bombers 'picked off' vehicles, their bumper-to-bumper traffic pummelled with 1,000-pound bombs. The Gulf War ended; the Allies estimated 100 soldiers dead and 200 wounded. Iraq's casualties were well over 100,000.

Jill Hamburg is a freelance writer on the Middle East, currently living in Cairo.

BRUNO BARBEY/MAGNUM

Simply

MANUFACTURING CONSENT

Our opinions depend upon the information we get. Western leaders still believe that a 'free press' undermined public support and lost the Vietnam War for America – they call it the 'Vietnam Syndrome'. The US invasions of Grenada and Panama were dummy runs for a different kind of war – a media war to control information and enlist public support. Desert Storm was the real thing – and it worked. Opinion polls showed 'approval ratings' for the War as high as 90 per cent in North America and Europe. Here are some of the ways it was done.



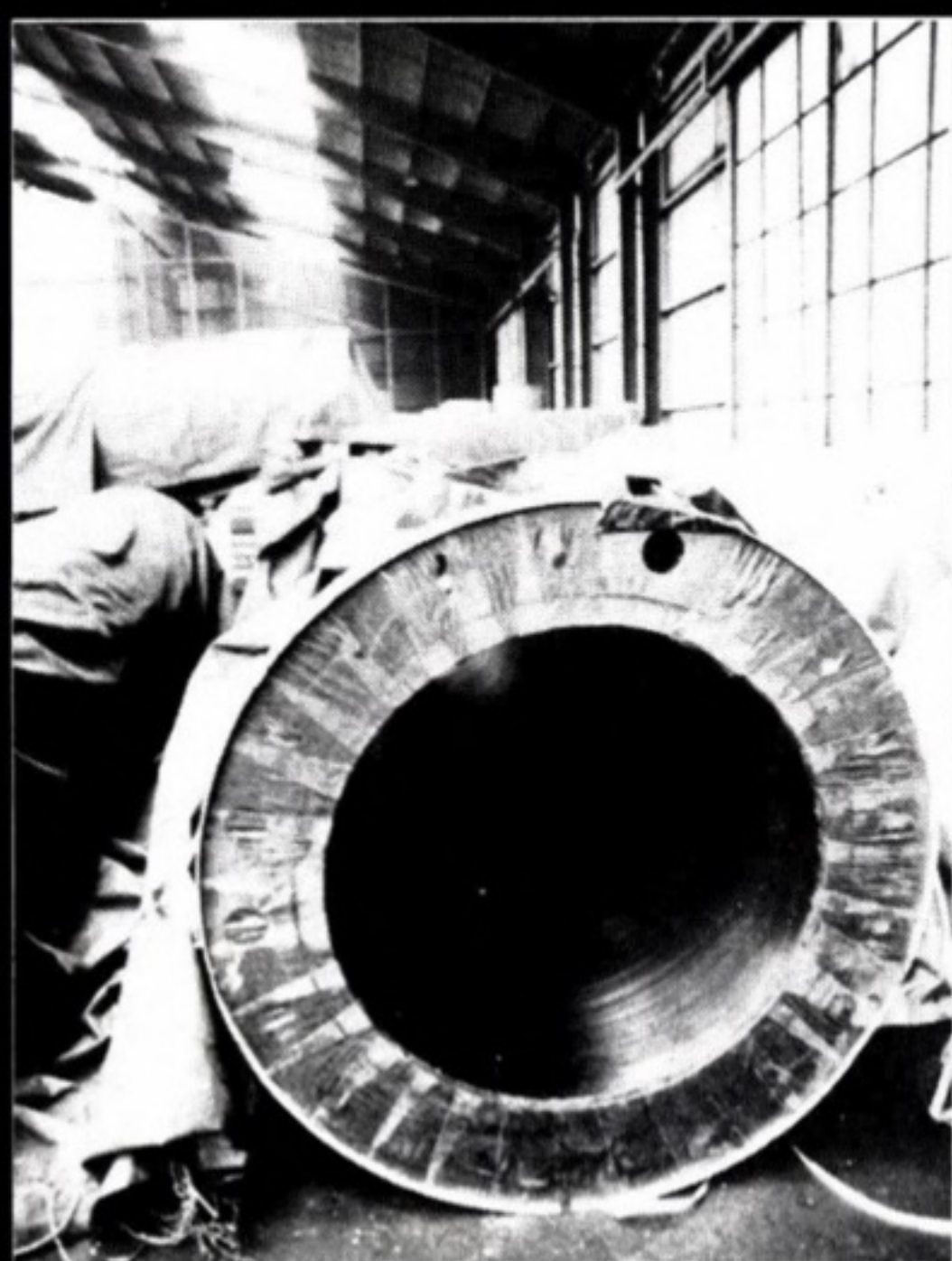
The surgeon's knife...

SURGICAL STRIKE

Military briefings gave the impression that high-tech weapons 'took out' Iraqi hardware in a 'clean', dehumanized War fought between military machines rather than people. Meanwhile on the ground Iraqi soldiers were being massacred.



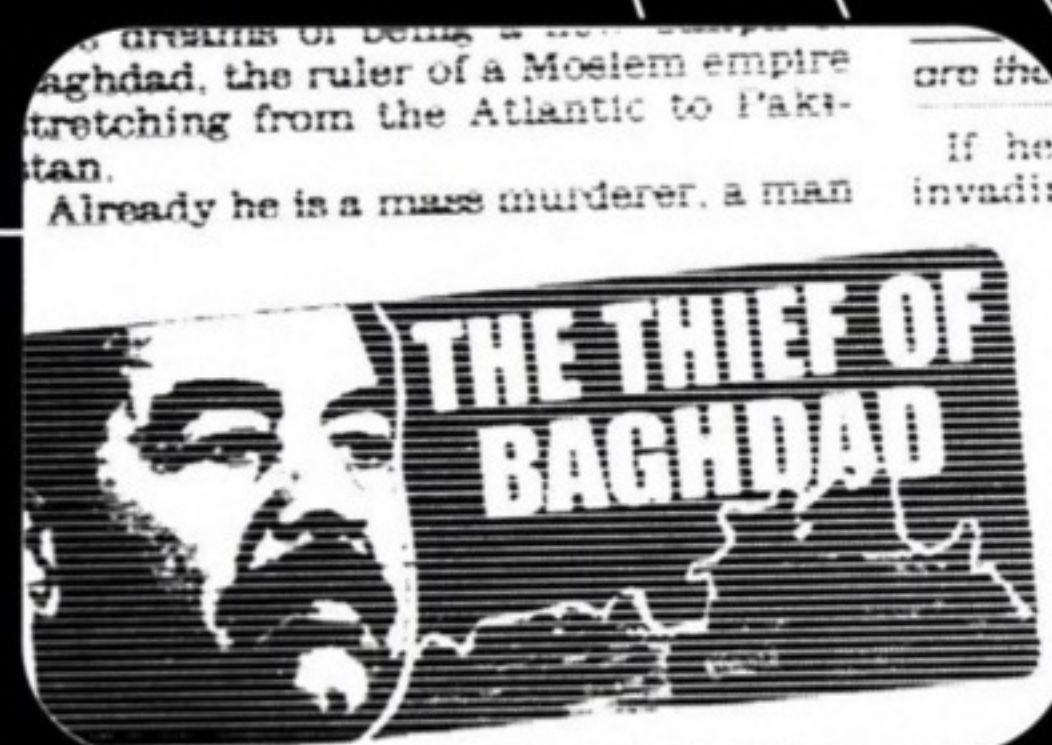
...leaves death in the desert.



British Supergun for Saddam...

BUTCHER OF BAGHDAD

The Western media demonized Saddam Hussein and likened him to 'a modern Hitler'. But for years, despite the evidence of its human-rights abuses, the Iraqi Government had been sponsored by the West and its Gulf State allies like Saudi Arabia in the war against Iran.



...and anti-Saddam propaganda for the British people.



Dead ducks hit Western headlines...

ECOLOGICAL TERRORISM

When the Iraqis opened the valves on Kuwaiti oil wells and created an oil slick in the Gulf, pictures of oil-covered birds immediately

appeared in the media. But this pollution resulted from earlier incidents – including the bombing of Iraqi tankers by US planes. Both sides were oblivious to environmental concerns.



...Western tanks escape blame.



Saddam's army: a worthy opposition...

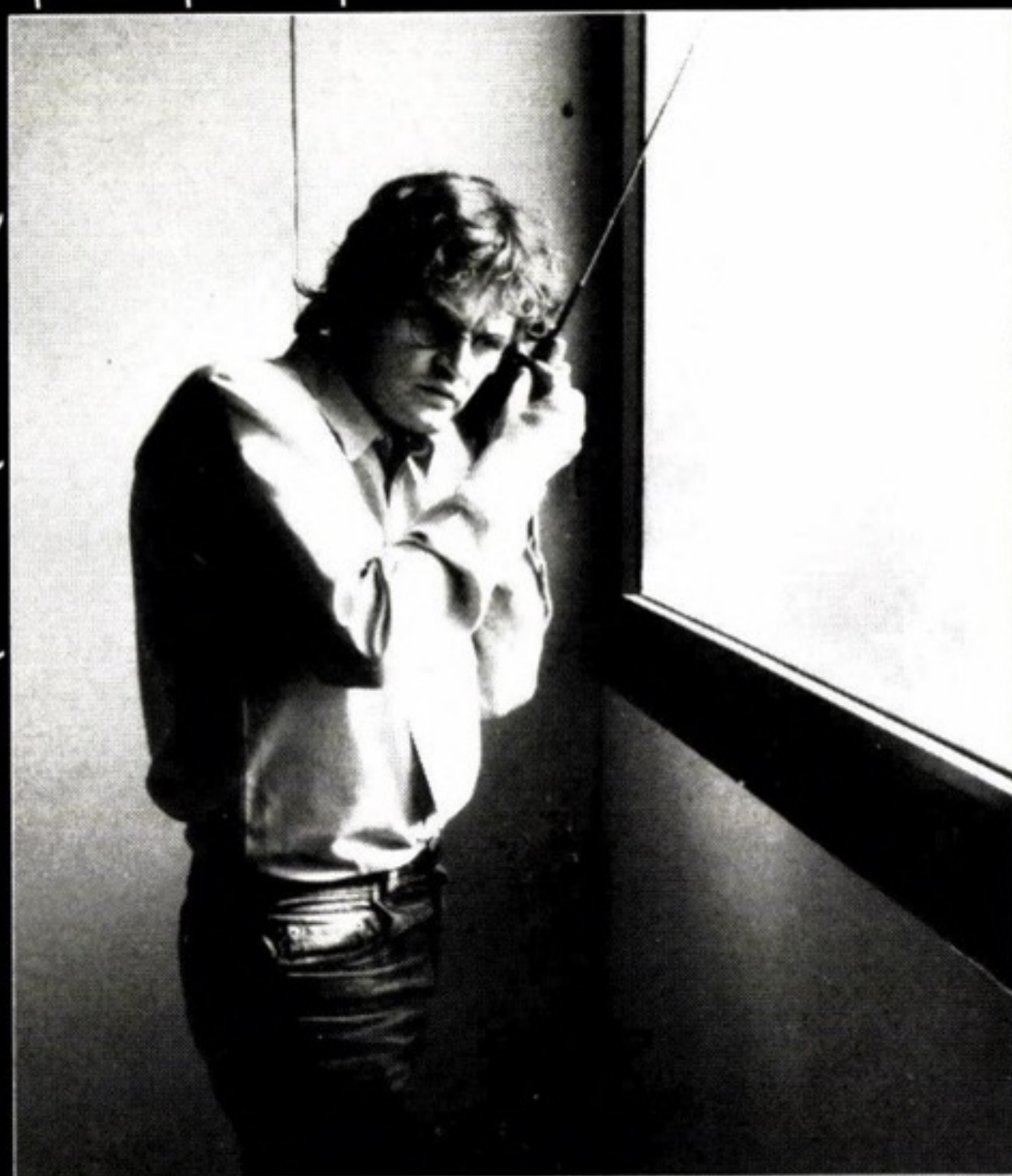
WAR MACHINE

Western leaders played up the size and strength of the Iraqi army, claiming that it contained

▲ one million men equipped with sophisticated weaponry and battle-hardened by the war with Iran. What actually confronted Desert Storm was a rag-tag army made up of ill-equipped conscripts who were virtually defenceless against Coalition bombardment.



...which never knew what hit them.



Reporting from Riyadh...

THE POOL

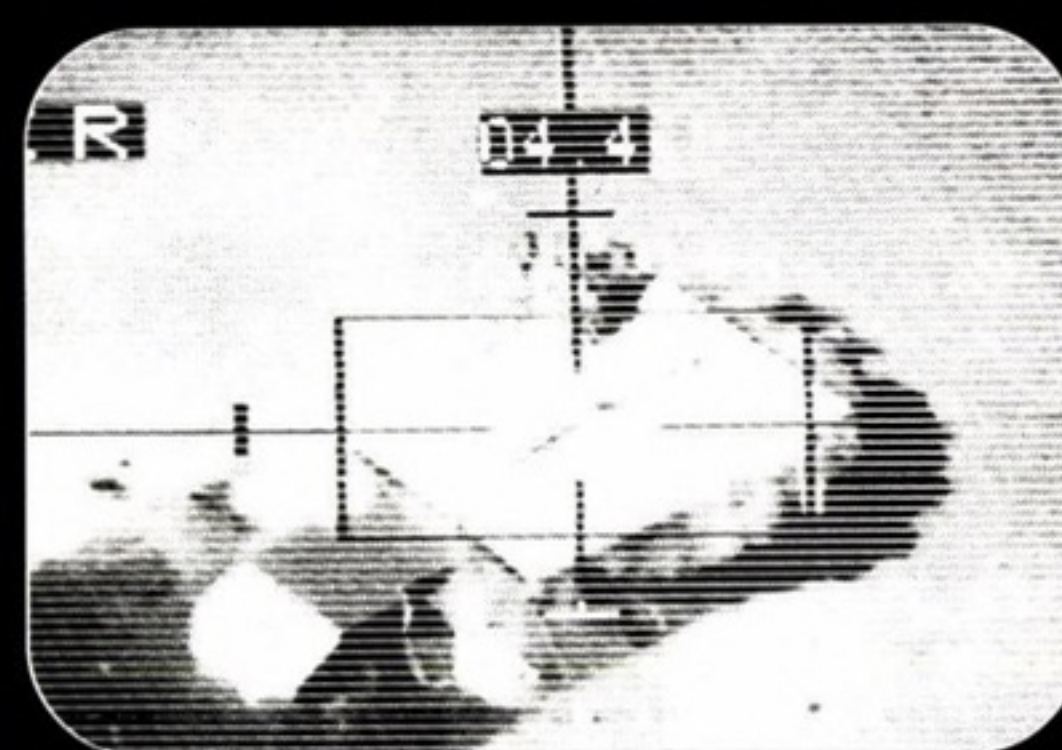
Military commanders organized a tightly-controlled 'pool' system for selected reporters whose material was censored and then made available to

◀ other journalists – who often 'reported' the war from hotels in Saudi Arabia. Very few pictures of the actual fighting ever appeared.



...a set piece in the sunset.

A 'smart bomb' view of the target...



COLLATERAL DAMAGE

'Precision' bombing and guided 'smart' weapons ▲ were said to be able to distinguish between military and civilian targets and avoid non-combatant casualties. But only seven per cent of the bombs dropped were 'smart'. Civilian targets were hit regularly and thousands of civilians were killed.



...and a child's-eye view of the result.



CHRIS CARTER/IMPACT

Stranded: millions of refugees from the Gulf War were uprooted from their homes and scattered in refugee camps throughout the Middle East.

YEMEN

'Not One of Us'

Storm damage



Oil-rich sheiks and fundamentalist fanatics – these are the Western stereotypes that fed the lust for war. But few Arabs have ever touched oil wealth and the appeal of fundamentalism is enhanced by catastrophes – including the Gulf War. Over the next four pages we survey the aftermath of Desert Storm in the Arab world.

'The most expensive vote you'll ever cast,' said a US diplomat to Yemen when it opposed Desert Storm at the UN Security Council.

But, as **Abdulaziz Al-Saqqaf** reports, the storm cloud has a silver lining.

WHEN Saddam Hussein decided to walk into Kuwait on 2 August 1990 the newly-united Republic of Yemen was less than ten weeks old. There was no room for more headaches.

Yet the Gulf Crisis had to be addressed – and Yemen's position was important. It was the only Arab country that was a member of the UN Security Council at the time. It was one of just four Arab countries associated with Iraq through the Arab Co-operation

The Government of Yemen has now embarked on an ambitious land-reclamation scheme which aims to resettle the returnees on farms. To help this process the Agricultural Co-operative Bank has introduced new credit facilities. Basic services such as roads, schools and health facilities have been expanded, partly financed by a \$59.5 million emergency package set up

Today Yemen is slowly picking up the pieces and moving on – with more vigour, more independence and more self-confidence. Ironically it is the only country in the Arabian peninsula that upholds the universal values that the West champions worldwide; the only country with a free press and a multi-party political system; the only country that opens the doors of its prisons for inspection by human-rights groups; the only country with a viable and working parliament.

Worst of all, war has bequeathed Jordan nearly 400,000 'returnees', most of them Palestinians without proper papers to re-enter the West Bank, who came to the only place they could, fearing for their lives in the Gulf. The returnees have augmented by ten per cent Jordan's population of three and a half million, increasing



unemployment and helping to create shortages of water, classrooms and – in the worst cases – food.

Because of its \$98-billion external debt Jordan has been forced by the International Monetary Fund to adopt harsh austerity measures. Inflation has taken off: the cost of fuel and food has risen by as much as 100 per cent. Iraq was Jordan's most important trading partner so the anti-Iraq UN embargo has been ruinous. The loss of Saudi Arabia as a market, and the withdrawal of subsidized Saudi oil, has also hurt.

Many people here were angry at the West's mobilization to protect rich Arab nations' oil while poor Arab people struggle for justice and a daily wage. 'We once looked up to the advanced West,' says Amman publisher Ellen Khoury ruefully. 'But God forbid that I would ever belong to a country that would commit such violence against another as we've seen in Iraq.'

Suspicion of Western values may also hinder Jordan's three-year-old democratization process. Islamic believers are divided from secularists, Right from Left, fanning fear and suspicion. The continuing tension is likely to leave Jordan's leadership more wary of proceeding down the path of democracy than ever before. ■

Jill Hamburg is a freelance writer on the Middle East who currently lives in Cairo.

SUDAN

Small earthquake

The aftershocks of the Gulf War shook the Third World. Sudan was close to the epicentre. Andrew Cohen took a taxi to find out more.

LLEFT for Khartoum from Gaza in a dusty stretch-Mercedes cab, with two passports and ready for the New World Order.

Burning tyres blocked some streets, but we made it to the Egypt/Israel border, where even dustier cabs take passengers across the Suez all the way to the airport in Cairo. It was a five-hour ride. The driver stopped several times along the way to pay the border guards and to pray. My Air France flight arrived in Khartoum at three o'clock in the morning – the only time that Sudan Air's competitor is allowed to land.

Behind me was a former New York City cab driver, H, who had just come back to live with his family. Since the Sudanese army doesn't lift the curfew until five in the morning we sat down, genially complained to one another about New York and discovered that we'd lived on the same street in Brooklyn.

H and his parents are quiet critics of Sudan's military Government. They live in a two-storey house in Omdurman, an hour's drive from the capital. In a country where the average wage is around \$18 a month they're better off than many.

Today, three years after a group of junior army officers seized power on behalf of the fundamentalist National Islamic Front (NIF), and 18 months after the Gulf War, they're clearly afraid. Political parties have been banned. Flour can no longer be bought. Sometimes there's no water. The country has been convulsed by civil war and famine, but the censors let slip no news.

Many who hailed the Gulf War as a triumph now fear that Khartoum has – at least partly as a result of that war – become the focal point of a hard line fundamentalist backlash that will spread throughout Africa and the Middle East.

It is true that Iran helped Sudan's Islamic Government launch an offensive against the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) rebels fighting in the South. Iranian interrogators trained the Sudanese secret police. The Gulf War magnified Iran's regional influence by eclipsing Iraq, and in its wake religious leaders claimed that Islam was the only remaining way to bring about Arab unity, to redress the imbalance of power between East and West and between rich and poor Arab countries.

H and his family are religious Muslims. While they believe that the Gulf War helped rekindle fundamentalism, they argue that Islam is neither so monolithic nor so menacing as it is made out to be by the West. They say that the NIF uses Islam politically to legitimize the Government's repression.

Hassan al-Turabi, NIF's head, is the *de facto* leader of Sudan. When I interviewed him he argued that the NIF put Sudan at the centre of the New World Order – not the one George Bush imagined, but an Islamic order which Turabi believes will supplant the dream of Arab unity discredited by the Gulf War.

The War ended with 'no Arab unity, no development, no security, no victory against Israel, nothing at all', Turabi says. 'Saudi Arabia, with all its religious legacy, was exposed as a surrogate of American aid... The War itself was such a shock, an earthquake that changed people's outlook, the dawn of a society of religion.'

While the Khartoum regime was cracking down after the Gulf War 'earthquake' Sudan was still feeling the economic after-shocks. With the intensification of the civil war in the South last spring the country's crisis grew more acute. The Government's offensive cut off emergency relief efforts for three months. No number of censors or secret police could conceal a million refugees fleeing war and famine.

The Gulf War only worsened the complicated politics of relief assistance. Last year, angered by Sudan's support for Iraq, Western food donors resolved not to pledge food aid until Sudan declared an emergency. Saudi Arabia and Kuwait withdrew hundreds of millions of dollars in assistance. Tens of thousands of Sudanese expatriates living in the Gulf found it much more difficult to get work, and therefore to send home the remittances that make up the largest part of Sudan's cash economy. Many started home, where the situation was if anything even bleaker.

The UN now estimates that more than seven million people, a quarter of Sudan's population, will need emergency food aid this year, at a cost of almost half a billion dollars. Many of those in need are refugees. Squatters now make up half the capital's population.

The Khartoum Government fears the influx from the Christian and animist South will threaten its political base in the Arab-dominated North. The army has 'resettled' more than 500,000 refugees, demolishing squatter settlements in Khartoum and leaving the victims to fend for themselves in the desert or be driven into Government camps at gunpoint.

In the al-Salaam resettlement camp a wizened former surgeon stood talking to some relief workers in English. Though I didn't recognize him then, an American

Junk labour

Ian Williams reports on how the migrant workers who built the oil-rich Gulf states were disposed of during the War.

As the forces of Desert Storm assembled from across the world a reverse movement began, a great army of migrant workers whose toil had built the prosperity of the Gulf.

These workers had come in their millions, from East and West, bringing with them hopes of wages several times higher than they could earn at home. By 1990 there were almost three million of them in Iraq and Kuwait alone, and many more in other Gulf countries.

They poured in to staff the industries and services of the oil boom. From the Pacific, Thais and Filipinos were joined by Vietnamese; from the Indian Ocean came Bangladeshis, Pakistanis, Indians and Sri Lankans; from the neighbouring Arab world there were Egyptians, Jordanians, Lebanese, Palestinians, Sudanese, Syrians and Yemenis. Still more came from Europe and America. Some 16,000 Vietnamese laboured in construction and transport in return for a barter deal with Iraq which ensured their homeland \$400 million worth of oil.

Within months of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait over two million migrants had fled home from the two countries. Some went to escape the conflict, like the half million Egyptians who fled Iraq. Others, like the 800,000 Yemenis sent home from Saudi Arabia, were expelled. Palestinians and Jordanians who fled from Kuwait during the War were soon joined by thousands more after 'liberation'. By the end of 1991 few remained.

In Saudi Arabia the authorities initially refused to issue gas masks to foreign workers.

Rich Kuwaitis evacuated their homes for the safety of holiday villas in France, Spain and Egypt, leaving their Sri Lankan and Bangladeshi housemaids behind. With no money to arrange a passage home, 35,000 were left stranded in what soon became a war zone. At a stroke the 860,000 immigrant workers in Kuwait lost all their possessions, savings and retirement benefits.

Indians fleeing from Iraq or Kuwait had to borrow an average of \$1,700 to return home, a debt they are likely to be saddled with for many years. Most of the region's 180,000 Indian migrant workers are from the province of Kerala, which will have to provide for them while losing their remittances.

After the War Kuwait announced that the emphasis would shift to the recruitment of South Asians, who could be relied upon to return home, or 'friendly Arabs' like Egyptians on short-term contracts and without their dependents.

The Gulf War underscores the pressing need for international action to protect the rights of migrant workers. In December 1990, as the waves of returned Gulf migrants considered their futures, the UN General Assembly adopted the International Convention on the Rights of Migrant Workers and their Families. But for some time to come migrant workers risk being treated as commodities, picked up or abandoned when their use is no longer expedient.

Ian Williams is a freelance journalist who lives in New York. Reproduced courtesy of UNFPA.



Iraq's discarded workers lost everything – including the price of their tickets home.

magazine I had with me carried a picture of him above an article on Sudan – 'Dinka chief from Zagalona, May 1990' read the caption. In 1990, in Zagalona, you might have thought that he was young.

In the summer of 1992 I stood facing the sun, squinting up at the dried-up Dinka chief; as I remember it the scene is

phantasmagoric, the sky improbably dark. Zagalona has been destroyed. The army encircled it one night last winter, razed the houses one by one and forced the residents to al-Salaam at gunpoint. My guide took me through the ruins.

Andrew Cohen works for *The Nation*, New York.

CHRIS STEELE-PERKINS/MAGNUM

FINANCIAL¹

Every year the world spends about \$900 billion on arms. To this the Gulf War added the expenditure needed to replace all the military hardware: the bombs, rockets and ammunition used, and the tanks, planes and ships destroyed. About one million foreign military personnel and their equipment were deployed in the Gulf. Added to this is the cost of reconstruction after the War.



	\$ billions
Cost of Coalition forces	70
Reconstruction costs in	
Kuwait	70
Iraq	110
Saudi Arabia	1
Total	251

● These costs are at least seven times greater than total annual official development assistance to the Third World and five times greater than the \$50 billion needed – though not provided – to implement the environmental recommendations of the Rio 'Earth Summit'.

THE REAL COST

The Gulf War may have been short, but it was one of the most violent, brutal and destructive few weeks in human history. The NI counts the cost.

HEALTH AND WELFARE²

The destruction of Iraq's electricity, health care, water and food-supply systems has caused unemployment, hunger, disease and suffering for millions of ordinary people in Iraq which continues today.



- Real earnings have fallen to less than 7% of pre-War levels.
- Absolute poverty levels have risen to equal those of India.
- Mortality rates among under five-year-olds have increased to four times pre-War levels.
- Within one year of the end of the War a minimum of 20,000 deaths from preventable diseases occurred, particularly among children in the refugee populations.

REFUGEES³

Millions of people living in and around Iraq were forced to flee their homes.



- Some 2.5 million Iraqi nationals (mostly Kurds in the North and Shia in the South) became internal refugees after the uprisings that followed Desert Storm.
- 400,000 foreign nationals (mostly Arab) left Iraq.
- 1.6 million people left Kuwait after the Iraqi invasion, most of them from the foreign resident population which included 625,000 Arabs (of which 350,000 were Palestinians), 600,000 Asians (mostly from Sri Lanka, India, South-East Asia and the Philippines), 60,000 Iranians, 3,000 Turks and 11,700 Westerners.
- 800,000 Yemeni citizens were expelled from Saudi Arabia.

THE SOUTH

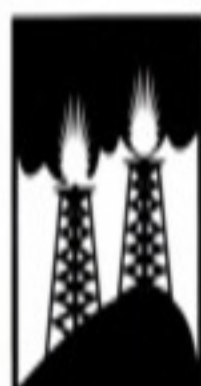
The world's poorest countries paid heavily for the War.



- 40 Third World countries suffered losses as serious as if they had been hit by a 'natural disaster'. Increased oil prices, reduced trade and lost remittances from migrant workers in the Gulf cost them about \$12 billion.²
- Enormous losses were incurred by foreign nationals, mostly from Third World countries, who became refugees. Palestinians in Kuwait lost assets estimated at \$8 billion; the average income of Palestinians living in the Occupied Territories is estimated to have halved as a result of the War.¹

THE ENVIRONMENT

The long-term cost to the environment is still being counted.



- Every day noxious pollutants from burning oil wells in Kuwait produced the equivalent of ten times the daily emissions from the whole of US industry and all its power plants.³
- The cloud from the burning oil wells reached two miles high, 400 miles south and 60 miles east to west. Acid rain spread as far as southern Turkey, western Pakistan and, later, the Himalayas.
- Some 20,000 birds were killed by oil slicks.⁴

¹ Tim Niblock, 'Arab Losses, First World Gains', in John Gittings ed *Beyond the Gulf War: The Middle East and the New World Order*, (CIIR, London, 1991). ² *The Impact of the Gulf Crisis on the Developing Countries*, Overseas Development Institute, (London, March 1991). ³ Eric Hoogland, 'The Other Face of War', in *Middle East Report* (no 171, July/August 1991). ⁴ John Vidal, 'Poisoned Sand and Seas' in Victoria Brittain op cit. ⁵ Monographs published by the International Study Team on the Gulf Crisis.

CASUALTIES³

The War was an unequal contest. Iraqis suffered almost 200 times more casualties than the coalition.



IRAQI DEATHS

Iraqi armed forces during Desert Storm	100,000
Iraqi civilians from coalition bombing	7,000
Iraqi soldiers assassinated by Kuwaitis	100

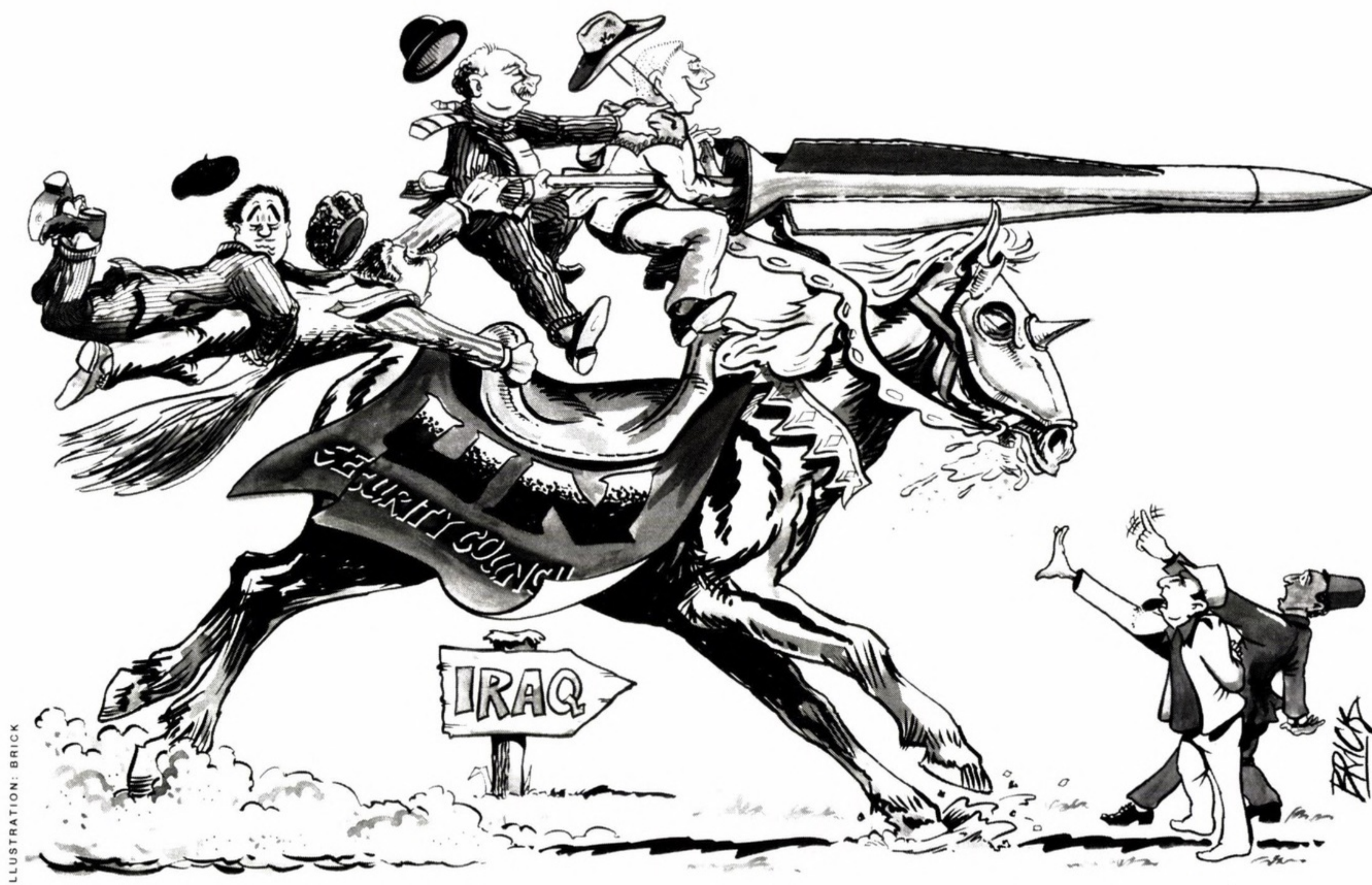
COALITION DEATHS

Coalition forces	479
Israeli civilians (Scud attacks)	2

WOUNDED

There are no detailed figures. The military still estimate the number of wounded at three times the number of deaths, which places the number of Iraqi soldiers wounded by Desert Storm at 300,000.





The Cavalry takes charge

Olivia Ward reports from the smoke-filled front line of the UN Security Council, where high hopes for peace slowly turned to dust.

25 AUGUST 1990

THE coffee is cold, the milk sour and the soda water flat – a typical long night outside the UN Security Council in the late summer of 1990.

'War is heck,' says a tired voice from a lounge chair.

'But we're not at war,' replies a grey-faced minor diplomat leaning over the smoky bar adjoining the Council Chamber.

'Yet,' mutter voices from the floor, where chairless journalists are strewn like derelicts, panhandling for any spare facts that might make the endless hours less tedious. As we drift toward dawn the Council moves inexorably towards war.

For months we've seen the Council, the UN's 15-member executive arm, coming closer together as Soviet President Mikhail

Gorbachev consolidates his relationship with Washington. This would have been unthinkable during the Cold War. Now Moscow is becoming a client of the US. Non-aligned countries are left without compass points, scrambling for a new way of getting heard.

The UN is now capable of quick and harmonious action in a crisis. But only the nuclear-powered permanent members of the Council – the US, Soviet Union, Britain and France – can define what is serious. The other veto-bearing member, China, keeps its head down.

After Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on August 2, the White House has grasped the reins. US Ambassador Thomas Pickering sits firmly in the saddle of the anti-Saddam cavalry, riding hell-for-leather towards final confrontation. He's buoyed up – occasionally overshadowed – by UK Ambassador

Sir David Hannay, tagged 'Britain's one-man fighting machine'.

The Council has now passed the most sweeping sanctions in history against Iraq. Setting aside years of indifference to brutality on a massive scale, it has joined forces to defend a tiny country with an autocratic, royalist government.

At the start of the face-off with Iraq, China was opposed to military action, the Soviet Union feared it and France wrestled with diplomatic solutions. But Washington has made it clear that sanctions alone are not enough.

It's been a long night. China, Cuba, Yemen, Malaysia and Colombia have been arguing against the use of force. But as the first rays of dawn spill through the smoke of the lounge only Yemen and Cuba refuse to cast their votes in favour. Without a veto, they are quickly swept aside.

Cuban Ambassador Ricardo Alarcon, whose flamboyant oratory gets crisper as his suits grow more crumpled, declares that it is the beginning of the end for the UN.

'This is not a United Nations embargo under international law. This is an American armada.'

What he means is that the UN blessing has been given to any member country that wants to send ships into the Gulf to monitor the sanctions. Canada and a handful of other Security Council members immediately issue disclaimers – it is not an act of war, they say, even as more battleships sail into the Middle East.

But the cheering drowns out the critics. The vote is hailed as a triumph of diplomacy for Washington. What are the aims and limits of military force? Who decides? Who is in command? Who, ultimately, is responsible? These questions are debated, ignored, buried – but never answered.

25 SEPTEMBER 1990

Distraught TV reporters smash through the ranks of print journalists. Security guards, faced with unaccustomed UN popularity, shove anyone suspected of working for the media behind steel barriers.

'Used to be a bloody tomb. Now it's a bloody zoo,' says one correspondent as he emerges from behind a potted palm.

For only the third time in history, foreign ministers from the 15 Security Council countries have assembled to vote at the circular wooden Council table, on extending the anti-Iraq embargo to the air. The result – a predictable agreement with only Cuba opposed.

By now the excitement of the United Nations' crucial position is building to a peak. Previously comatose departments within the sprawling UN complex spring to life like a scene from a perverse production of 'The Sleeping Beauty'. Diplomats whose opinions have always been ignored are suddenly cultivated and cajoled to speak – for want of any real content in their oratory reporters invent Byzantine interpretations of their words.

But the hidden spark of war ignites the excitement. Eduard Shevardnadze, the

Soviet Foreign Minister, fuels it. 'The day Iraq invaded Kuwait was Black Thursday,' he says. He douses any lingering Iraqi hopes that the USSR will split the coalition, 'War may break out in the Gulf region any day, any moment'.

For the Security Council, and for the UN at large, it is an important turning point. Moscow has been suffering severe strains on the home front, where Boris Yeltsin and his Russian supporters are agitating for reform and independence. Yeltsin and his foreign-affairs advisor, Andrei Kozyrev, oppose Gorbachev's increasing attention to the Gulf.

When Gorbachev at first refuses to contribute battleships to the naval embargo, the Coalition appears to be cracking.

But after the vote, as Shevardnadze and US Secretary of State James Baker stand shoulder to shoulder, their eyes locked in mutual kinship, the New World Order is revealed.

'This is a one-power Council and a subjugated UN,' says Abdulla Al-Ashtal, the lively, diminutive Yemeni Ambassador. 'But the worst thing is, nobody seems to care.'

11 OCTOBER 1990

Like an old-fashioned movie heroine the UN has walked away from a drama with a smile on its lips and its virtue intact.

The issue is not Kuwait. It is the Israeli security forces' killing of more than a dozen Arabs after stones were thrown at Jewish worshippers in Jerusalem's Old City – an issue that threatens to pull apart the anti-Iraq coalition as nothing else has done since the August invasion.

Most Arab countries privately attack Palestinian support for Iraq, but they are virtually united against Israel. Third World Security Council members call for nothing less than a full-scale UN investigation of the incident with a view to imposing sanctions on Israel. At a heated Council meeting diplomats from Iraq and Kuwait are united in condemnation of the Jewish state.

Washington, Israel's protector at the UN, takes a gamble. It enlists the support of Britain and Canada to 'massage' the resolution into a more acceptable shape – censure for Israel, but only a scaled-down 'fact-finding' mission with Israeli co-operation.

The gamble pays off. The Coalition emerges stronger than ever and the

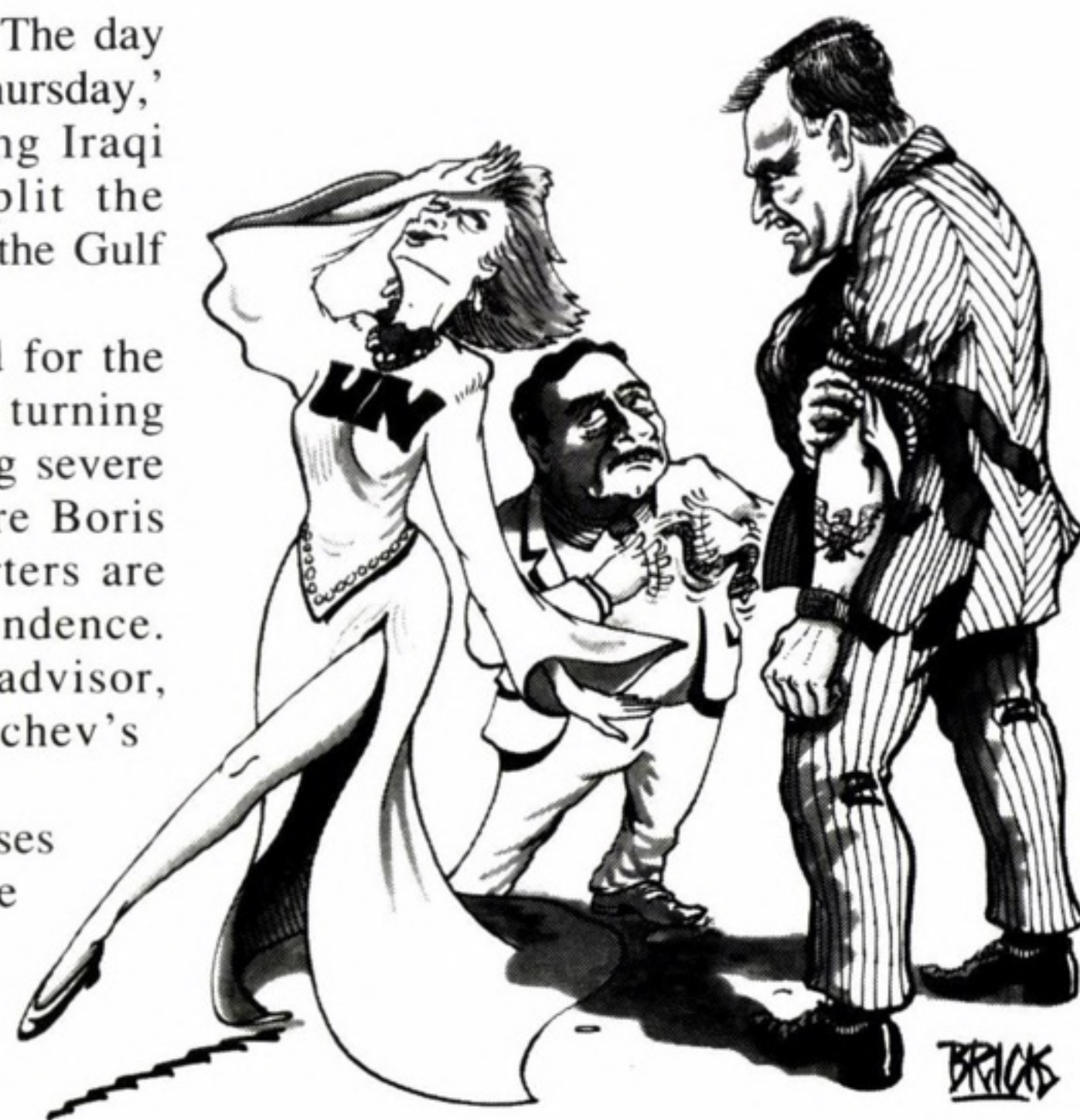


ILLUSTRATION: BRICK

price of US support marks another step towards war in the Gulf.

But it is not an obvious step. French President Francois Mitterrand has just left the UN with a plan to link the wider Middle East peace process to the Kuwait invasion. He and Gorbachev are clearly steering towards a non-military solution. Diplomats deny any rift, but ripples are beginning to surface.

Meanwhile the Pentagon is drawing up its own plans, labelled 'GAS' by one Washington insider – 'Gulf After Saddam'. A new vote of censure is being levelled against Iraq, demanding war reparations.

Moscow is attempting some last-minute contacts with Baghdad. The Soviet Ambassador, Yuliy Vorontsov, rushes to Pickering and pleads for a 48-hour delay. Reluctantly Washington agrees.

After two days' wait, the Council votes to make Saddam responsible for damages to Kuwaitis and others affected by the invasion. The door is left open for war-crimes charges.

The French-Soviet effort has been declared a failure. It is widely rumoured that Saddam walked out of the talks. The Soviet envoy to Iraq, Yevgeny Primakov, indicates that the negotiations have been cut off at the knees by Washington.

'The fact is, we had to offer something in return for withdrawal from Kuwait if we wanted to avoid war,' says Yevgeny Primakov in New York. 'Not appeasement, of course, but you might say "incentives"... Unfortunately, this was not acceptable to some of the parties.'

9 NOVEMBER 1990

Everyone is nervous. Diplomats swing between anger and arrogance towards the press. Hard-nosed reporters, weary of the unaccustomed attentions of their editors,

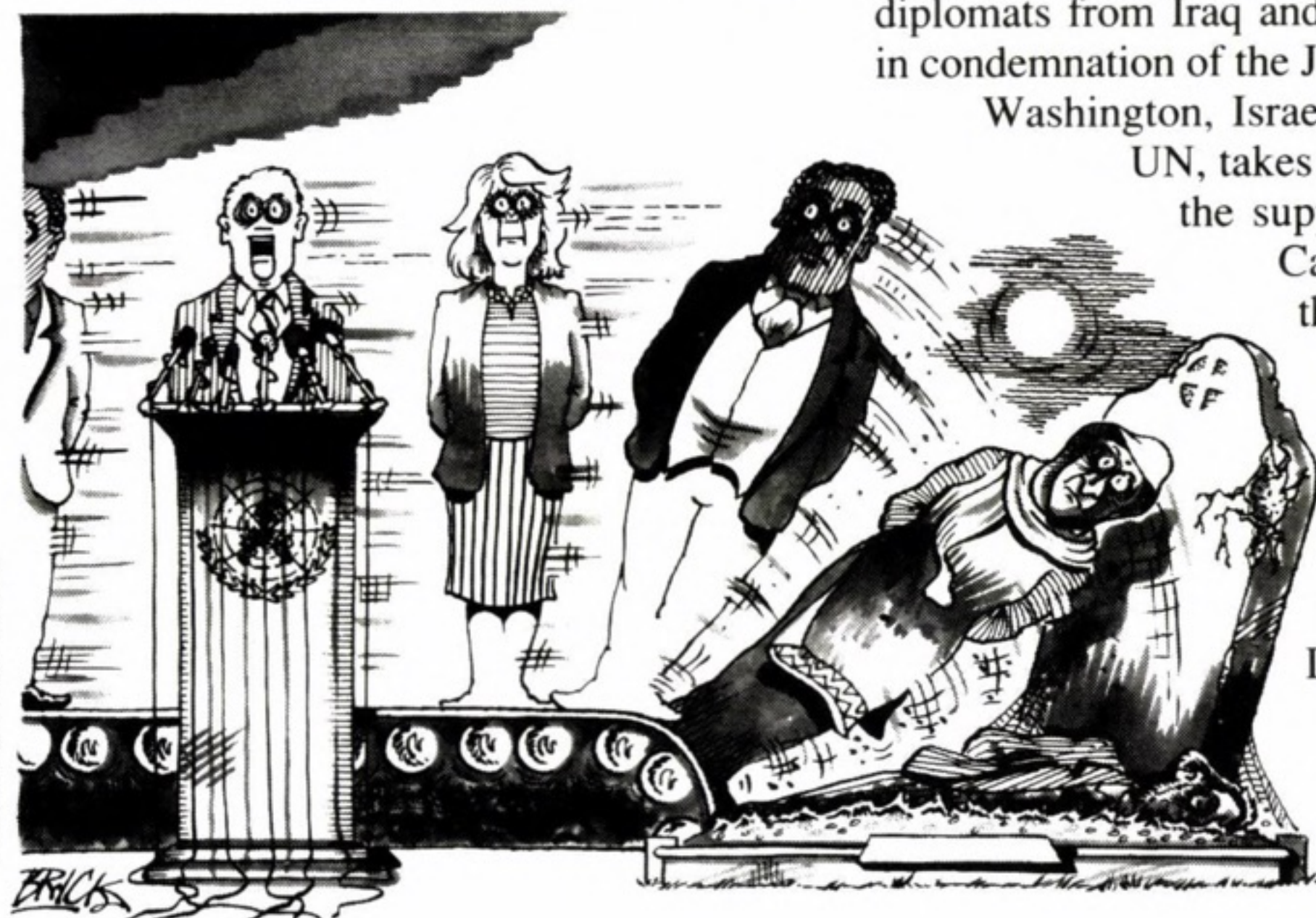


ILLUSTRATION: BRICK

grow frustrated. The 'story' appears to be happening at the UN, but the strings are being pulled in the capitals and above all in the White House.

No-one says it, but it is patently clear – Washington is not planning to send its troops home without action after the largest military build-up since World War II. War is virtually guaranteed.

In the corridors of the UN Mohammad Abulhassan meanwhile works the crowds with agility. The dapper Kuwaiti Ambassador delivers daily messages from besieged Kuwait of women being raped, men murdered, babies ripped from incubators, the country ransacked and dismembered. Reports of atrocities add more heat to the already volatile atmosphere.

From the opposite corner Iraqi Ambassador Abdul Amir al-Anari, a bespectacled former oilman, describes the attacks on Iraq as an American attempt to control the petroleum market. Iraq is being victimized; Western elites are looking for an Arab scapegoat.

'For once we're going to war for something we all believe in,' says a Scottish reporter, waving a photo of the much-married Emir of Kuwait and his many children. 'Family values.'

30 NOVEMBER 1990

The foreign ministers parade before the microphones, words confident but voices strained.

It is done. By a vote of twelve to two – with China abstaining – the use of force in the Gulf is authorized, unless Iraq pulls its forces out of Kuwait by January 15 1991.

For three weeks US Secretary of State James Baker has shuttled from capital to capital, calling in debts, promising concessions, issuing threats. Washington has won the day at last.

In exchange for trade favours China agrees not to use its veto. Cuba has made a career out of flouting American demands at the UN and refuses to co-operate. Yemen is caught between the displeasure of a distant superpower and the wrath of a close neighbour and benefactor. It also votes No.

Baker and Shevardnadze, once more shoulder-to-shoulder, make tense speeches about magnificent solidarity and the last, best chance for peace – the Soviets' desire to give sanctions six months to work will be respected.

For Moscow the postponement is no mere humanitarian gesture. Gorbachev is painfully aware of the lack of support at home for a war in the Gulf. But to

trained UN observers sanctions are history already. The future is military action.

16 JANUARY 1991

UN regulars know this is a moment they will remember all their lives. The first bombs have hit Baghdad. Reporters filing 'wait-and-see' stories abandon their computers and move into the corridors, where CNN blares out the news no-one

not endorsed.

'Dear friends,' he says, as he leaves the building grim-faced, 'I have done everything in my power. In spite of everything there is now war.'

AFTERMATH

The Gulf War ends as it began – with the UN powerless and virtually irrelevant.

When President Bush calls a televised end to the War six weeks after it began the UN building swarms with reporters expecting a late-night session of the Security Council to declare a formal cease-fire. As dawn breaks over the East River, they straggle home empty-handed.

'We were waiting to be called, but nothing happened,' says a European diplomat. 'Nothing. It was a very unsettling feeling.'

For the UN it has been a strange war. Now it is a strange peace. The question of international military command has been set aside from the start. According to Chapter VII of the UN Charter the use of force by the UN should be controlled by a Military Staff Committee made up from the five permanent members of the Security Council. But a US diplomat asks indignantly: 'Can you imagine our guys being told how to fight by a Chinese general?'

Cuba, Yemen, Morocco and India attempt to bring the Council together for a debate on the use of force once reports of Iraqi civilian casualties surface. Third World

countries, aided by the Soviet Union, suggest a 'pause for peace' to end the bombing of civilian areas.

As bombings continue amid Iraqi defiance, diplomats wonder privately whether they will be the authors of the country's extinction. Belatedly they start to consider Saddam's ruthless willingness to sacrifice the population of Iraq for his ambitions.

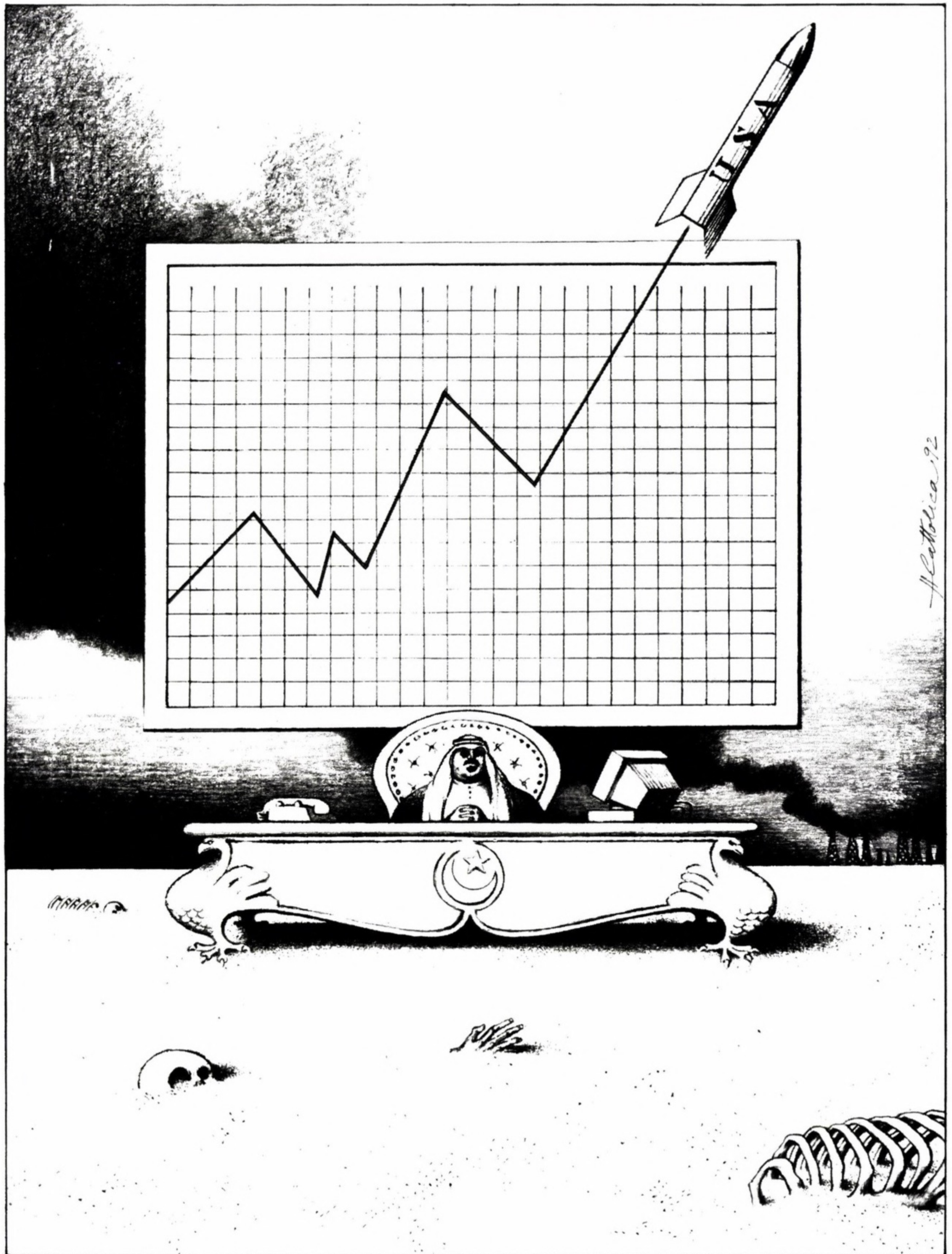
Once the US-led military action ends, UN diplomats long to shake off the inertia of the War and end on the same heroic note with which they began. But it is a month before a 20-page resolution drafted in Washington brings UN diplomats back to the Council table.

More than a year later the cease-fire terms are still not fulfilled. As before, the outcome is being decided elsewhere. The saga continues. ■

Olivia Ward was the *Toronto Star's* UN correspondent throughout the Gulf crisis and is now bureau chief in Moscow.



ILLUSTRATION: HECTOR CATTOLICA





SEBASTIAO SALGADO/MAGNUM

Torching the Earth



Blazing oil, choking smoke, chemical cocktails – Saddam Hussein got the blame for all of it. But who were the real environmental villains? Joni Seager investigates.

THE Western media were in no doubt about it. Saddam Hussein was an environmental maniac. His readiness to blackmail the more scrupulous Coalition with threats to ignite the Kuwaiti oil wells, and deliberately to pollute the Gulf, fitted well with the demonized propaganda image of him. But look a little closer and you find that the similarities between the Iraqi 'bad guys' and the Coalition 'good guys' are more striking than the differences.

The Coalition went to great lengths to conceal its own dismal record. When, on

24 January 1991, Baghdad Radio announced that the US-led forces had bombed two oil tankers in Kuwait harbour, releasing large quantities of oil, the US military was quick to dismiss these claims as entirely false.

Two days later they announced that Iraqi forces had opened the valves on several pipelines, allowing oil to spill directly into the Gulf. Cries of outrage and accusations of 'environmental terrorism' filled the press. Pictures of oil-soaked, panic-stricken cormorants splashed across the front page of every newspaper.

Several days afterwards – in a minor briefing note – the US admitted that the slick caused by the Iraqis had not yet hit land. The dying birds were in fact being killed by the slick from earlier attacks on installations – including the US bombing of the tankers.

In the end it doesn't much matter which military was responsible for the oil spills. The fact is that within days of the start of the War there were several very large spills circulating throughout the Gulf. The Saudi Meteorology and Environmental Protection Administration estimated seven million

barrels in total – approximately twice the size of the world's previous largest oil spill¹ and 20 times the size of the Exxon Valdez accident.

The oil spills devastated the marine environment. Grass-beds, mud-flats and salt-marshes were coated with oil. Beaches were fouled, wetlands and mangroves were destroyed. Mousse-like slicks several miles wide threatened the entire coastal ecology of the Gulf from Kuwait to Oman. Fragile coral reef systems were damaged. It is still not clear how much the oil spills affected marine mammals in the Gulf, but birds, especially cormorants, grebes and herons were hard hit. Saudi officials estimate that between 15,000 and 30,000 birds were killed by oil.

The fishing industry in the Gulf – a crucial source of food protein for people around its rim – was all but closed down by late January 1991. The Saudi Arabian shrimp industry was wiped out early in the War and it is unlikely that it will recover before the end of the decade.

A marine oil spill of this nature is all but impossible to clean up. Even under the best of circumstances, oil industry specialists estimate that a 15 per cent clean-up is all that can be expected – and in the Gulf the efforts were half-hearted. The bill for long-term clean-up could run to five billion dollars and no country appears willing to pick it up. Given six months' notice, and the certain knowledge that oil would be used as a weapon, it is quite inexplicable why no contingency plans were made.

Oil fires had also been predicted – as many as 850 of them were raging in Kuwait at the end of the War. At the Second World Climate Conference in Geneva in November 1990, King Hussein of Jordan outlined the consequences very clearly². Iraqi sabotage did not cause all – or even most – of these fires. Coalition bombing certainly accounted for many.

Spewing smoke, soot, carcinogenic gases and particles over hundreds of miles, these fires will be taking their toll well into the future. Medical workers in Kuwait reported dramatic rates of serious respiratory diseases, especially among the elderly and children, who are at particular risk. Wind-borne oily particles and soot settled on agricultural land throughout the Gulf, polluting water supplies as well as food stocks. At their peak, the fires were releasing one million tons of sulphur dioxide and 100,000 tons of nitrogen oxides every month. They produced acid rain fallout and dry acid deposits as far as 1,200 miles away.

The Iraqi 'scorched earth' policy in Kuwait was bad enough, but if anything the Coalition action in Iraq was even worse. In the last months of 1990 Western newspapers regularly featured maps of Iraq with probable targets for bombing – nuclear plants,

Into the inferno

Nolan Fell ventures into the hell of post-war Kuwait.

FLYING over the Gulf in early August 1991 I saw for the first time the huge plume of black smoke spreading out like a fan and extending more than 1,000 kilometres south. From the air it looked like a huge wound, as if the Earth's surface had been gashed and its innards were gushing out. Once on the ground it was impossible to appreciate the colossal scale of the pollution, but the smell of hydrocarbons immediately alerted my senses that something was wrong.

The sky was hazy, with sunlight struggling to penetrate the layer of dirt four kilometres high. Sunset occurred an hour earlier than normal. In Bahrain temperatures were five to ten degrees below normal – which meant that in the cool of the evening they would drop to a mere 30 degrees.

I was in the Gulf with a Greenpeace expedition. Our aim was to assess the damage done by the War to the environment, to marine and terrestrial ecosystems and, by association, to every single one of us. As part of the atmospheric team I travelled 2,000 kilometres through the area, but the focus of my work was Kuwait.

During the Kuwaiti spring the desert usually blossoms with flowers, carpeting the sand for a few brief weeks. That spring there had been no flowers. The fallout of partially-burned oily particles from the fires covered half Kuwait, turning the sand from a light reflective colour to a lifeless black mass. Huge lakes of oil, formed by wells which had been put out but not yet capped, fooled migratory birds searching for water into a slow, sticky death. Dead camels, gutted military vehicles and unexploded mines littered the landscape.

I went to the oil fields three times while I was in Kuwait. Changes in climatic conditions created a different atmosphere each time. When a wind blew the smoke spread from its source rapidly and it was possible to see considerable distances across a landscape that was almost lunar in its lifelessness.

But one afternoon we found the oil fields in a very strange condition. The air was totally still and extremely humid, preventing the smoke from dispersing. As we entered the black cloud which surrounded a number of burning wells we found an American fire-fighting team hanging around.

'Never seen conditions like this,' said one. 'We've had to stop working. Can't see what we're doing.'

It was one o'clock in the afternoon, unbearably hot, breathing was extremely difficult and the sun had been blotted out of the sky. On three sides we were surrounded by raging oil fires. The heat was so intense that lakes of oil were also burning.

Through the middle of this vision of hell on Earth the road ran, a strip of safety cleared of

mines and the only piece of land where we did not run the risk of being burned alive or blown to pieces. Night enveloped us in mid-afternoon. As we collected air, soil and vegetation samples, the only light we had was the orange glow of the fires, reflecting off the sweat on our brows. It was an angry light and it came from deep within the Earth.

We spent two hours in this inferno. By the time we were packed and ready to leave, my

Exhausted from fighting flames in Kuwait.

gas mask had become unbearable. At the point where it made contact with my face, sweat had mixed with the filth of the fallout and irritated my skin terribly. My eyes were streaming and the dense grime which filled the air had ingrained itself into my hair, my nose, every crevice of my body.

We left the fires that afternoon knowing we had witnessed something unique. We drove back into Kuwait City in silence, exhausted, shaken and filthy. It would take more than a shower and a good sleep to recover.

It was only after I returned to England that the enormity of the destruction began to sink in. For a while I became very despondent. I could see no reason for optimism. But in the desolate oil fields small green shoots have already started to reappear. We have been warned about the terrible impact on the environment of modern conflict. But the Earth will prevail.

Nolan Fell is a researcher and writer who lives in London.

chemical weapons production facilities, industrial sites, urban centres. The dots of targets on the maps snaked north and west across the country, following the course of the Tigris River.

These targets were attacked early on and repeatedly. Within ten days the US military reported that over 500 'sorties' had

been flown against 31 Iraqi chemical and nuclear plants – several had been 'reduced to rubble' and all had been disabled, despite a UN resolution in December 1990 banning attacks on nuclear facilities.

The US military was unduly proud of all this damage, but hastened to add that it was '99 per cent' confident that no chemical or

SEBASTIAO SALGADO/MAGNUM

OCTOBER 1992 / NEW INTERNATIONALIST 25



SEBASTIAO SALGADO/MAGNUM

Cap this! Sculpted in oil, fire-fighters struggle to clean up.

radiation contamination had resulted – an inherently implausible claim. Independent observers suggest that, on the contrary, there is considerable danger of chemical and nuclear contamination when working chemical or nuclear plants and storage facilities are attacked.

The Iraqi military was presumed to have stockpiles of chemical weapons – mustard gas, hydrogen cyanide, nerve gases such as Tabun, Sarin and phosgene – and biological agents like anthrax, botulism and plague organisms. Iraq reportedly had the capacity to produce as much as 700 tons of chemical warfare agents annually and had huge stockpiles. It was, after all, the existence of these capabilities that was used to justify military intervention by the West.

We have little reliable information from Iraq about the consequences of these attacks. We may yet get corroborated reports of severe chemical and biological contamination in Iraq. Its effects, however, could be difficult to distinguish from the generalized environmental havoc. Reporting is still patchy and chaotic. But the few independent observers who have issued reports paint a picture of a country

teetering on the brink of apocalypse.

The UN task force that visited Baghdad in 1991 suggests that most of the damage to civilian support structures was the result of bombing intended to destroy Iraq's urban and industrial base – random and indiscriminate saturation bombing to bring the populace to its knees. Tens of thousands of people – 72,000 by one estimate – have been left homeless by bomb damage to private homes.

The burden of all this damage has not been borne evenly. Women in both Kuwait and Iraq – even urban women unused to fashioning family provisions from raw materials – have become the hewers of wood and drawers of water. Within weeks of the outbreak of war most of the trees in Iraq's cities had been felled for fuelwood.

As women cook, wash clothes and dishes and draw water from sewage-poisoned rivers, they are the first and most seriously affected by water-borne diseases. Under conditions of food scarcity adult women and girl children typically eat last and least. The patterns of malnutrition in Iraq will doubtless reflect this cultural pecking order.

Indigenous people are hard-hit too. The lands of Bedouins have been devastated, the desert systems on which they rely mined, bombed, poisoned and debased. British newspapers reported that their tents had been mistaken for missile launcher

sites. Large numbers of camels were killed, victims of bored soldiers taking target practice or of confused electronic guidance systems. Military activity, pollution and oil spills have dislocated the Marsh Arabs, a little-known population that lives in the wetlands and marshes of the Gulf.

An optimist might wish to believe that 'green consciousness' has permeated the Western world – even its military rhetoric. But there is little cause for optimism to be found in the Gulf War. It underscores how ineffectual green consciousness has been in tempering the institutions of mass destruction – or implementing international conventions. The protagonists flaunted several UN resolutions and at least six articles of the Geneva Convention which protect civilian populations and natural environments in times of war.

So the larger lesson is clear. The terrible environmental cost of maintaining militarized states is high – so high it may cost us the Earth. ■

Joni Seager teaches in the US and is the author (with Ann Olson) of *Women in the World – an International Atlas*.

1 The Ixtoc Well blowout in the Gulf of Mexico in 1979.
2 The US Environmental Protection Agency estimated that in March 1991 roughly ten times as much air pollution was being emitted in Kuwait as by all US industrial and power-generating plants combined.

Not in our names



'Powerless perhaps: disempowered – never.' **Alastair Hulbert and Alastair McIntosh** record how the peace movement in Scotland challenged the official version of the War.

WE arrived at Peace House near Dunblane feeling desolate, frightened, powerless. The fire spluttered to keep our bodies warm against a snowy night, but inside each of us was touched by the icy numbing of prescient shell-shock.

'War in the Gulf: Not in My Name,' said the badges on the table. Powerless, perhaps we were: but disempowered – never.

Was there anything we, the Steering Committee of Scottish Churches Action for World Development (SCAWD) could do? We've been doing it all these years and failed, lamented someone. The first task of the peace movement is not necessarily to succeed, but to bear witness to truth, said Helen, a peace worker since her relief work days in Vietnam, who knew how truth gets lost in war.

Then someone suggested we use international computer networks, fax and telex, to establish an alternative news service. *GulfWatch* was born.

The rest of the evening we felt so excited we forgot to crack open the bottle of whisky. A statement of purpose and method was drawn up by the following morning. Dated 15 January 1991, the eve of War, it said:

'Disinformation has already started. The reported defection of six Iraqi helicopters was an American set-up which the media was taken in by. Our Government is recruiting the services of PR consultants to handle the media, as they do not consider the usual civil-service channels appropriate to how they want the conflict reported.'

'SCAWD is concerned that disinformation and censorship means that key representatives within the Scottish churches may not always have access to adequate information on which to base public statements, pastoral letters, etc arising out of the need for an ethical critique of War developments. Accordingly we are setting up an emergency information service to provide daily short digests of material coming in from uncensored sources within the international church, peace, environmental etc networks...'

GulfWatch Number 1 came out on the afternoon of 16 January. The following day GreenNet – an international electronic mail network – went wild, as war launched the

international peace community into frenzied orbit.

Thereafter each day's two-page copy of *GulfWatch* was a distillation from some 40 or 50 pages of selected material, accounting for some 90 hours of computer network access time within two months, as well as hundreds of pages of fax and other hard copy.

The advantage of having an active electronic mail 'conference' is that material can be publicly debated. Some 7,000 subscribers in 50 different countries can add their contributions or shoot down any doubtful items.

This is the power of electronic networking with satellite computer telecommunication links. Wartime media censorship can never be the same henceforth. Some of the same satellites that bounced down bombing schedules also carried messages of love – unscrambled, freely open to the interception we know takes place. In such small ways, perhaps, the oppressor's tool can help dismantle his fortress.

(cont/d...)



DAVID VITA/IMPACT

GulfWatch

RADIO CENSORSHIP

Nº 6 – January 20TH 1991

Radio Forth reported on Sunday morning at 8.30 am that local radio stations are coming under pressure not to play peace songs such as John Lennon's *Give Peace a Chance*... GulfWatch contacted Julia Shipston, London-based press officer for BBC local radio stations, who said there is no ban; what's happened is that guidelines have been issued to the 37 English BBC local radio stations, calling for sensitivity when certain songs are played and giving a list of 67 potentially risky ones, including songs like *Fields of Fire*, *I Just Died in Your Arms Tonight*, *Armed and Extremely Dangerous*, and Roberta Flack's *Killing Me Softly*...

DEMONSTRATIONS

Nº 10 – January 25TH 1991

The protests against this War have been diverse and international in a way that the Vietnam protests never were... In the first week of protest, over 250,000 people came out against the War in the United States, another 2.5 million overseas in 38 countries... San Francisco police arrested nearly 1,000 people protesting the War – more than were arrested on any single day during the Vietnam protests.

PALESTINIAN CURFEW

Nº 20 – February 7TH 1991

Letter from Rev Colin Morton, St Andrew's, Jerusalem:

'There is no news of (the curfew) in the Israeli media that I can see or hear... The special effects are on agriculture – there are no feeding stuffs for animals as they are not being supplied from Israel proper which is the one source. Crops and vegetables cannot be sprayed, harvested or marketed. Some farmers broke the curfew in Jericho and Tulkam areas; they were each fined 2,000 shekels (about \$800) and their produce was spoiled. Medical – ordinary curfew passes are not being honoured, so medical people cannot give clinics etc... It is absolutely inhuman to treat a population of 1.7 million in this way...'

TOMAHAWKS

Nº 24 – February 12TH 1991

Tomahawk sea-launched cruise missiles (SLCM) have been used in combat for the

first time in the war against Iraq. Over 290 conventional missiles have been fired so far (Feb 6) in the War, or almost half of the total number of missiles present in the US naval force in the region. It would cost at least \$560 million to replace the missiles at 1991 prices... The use and announcement of Tomahawk launches by submarines was seemingly made with the intent of scoring big in next year's budget rather than in having a significant effect on the tide of events in Iraq.

MISINFORMED

Nº 30 – February 19TH 1991

An important survey of US Gulf War attitudes and opinion manipulation has been carried out by researchers at the Department of Communication, University of Massachusetts/Amherst. It says, 'Despite the months of television coverage devoted to this story, most people, we found, were alarmingly ill-informed. If the news media had done a better job in informing people, would there be less support for the War? Our study indicates that the answer to this question is 'yes'.

NAPALM

Nº 33 – February 22ND 1991

The ABC 5:30 pm news carried the story of Marine Harrier Jets dropping napalm. The report went on to say that 'it was only being used to clear oil-filled trenches'. Then a mysterious overhead reconnaissance photo appeared on the screen, supposedly showing the trenches all along the border. (For those without access to US media, reconnaissance photos have suddenly started appearing on the tube when they support whatever the Administration wants people to believe.)

Two points here: to avoid having napalm classed as a weapon of mass destruction under international law, the US managed to get it officially designated as a 'defoliant' back in the 1960s. Just how much of that Kuwait forest is still standing anyway? Also, when Jimmy Carter was President, the US air force publicly announced that it was removing all remaining stocks of napalm from its inventory, as they felt it was no longer needed. So where did this stuff come from... an interservice garage sale? ■

Alastair Hulbert is Secretary of Scottish Churches Action for World Development (SCAWD) and was the main editor of *GulfWatch*. **Alastair McIntosh** is Development Director with Edinburgh University's Centre for Human Ecology. This is an edited extract from '*GulfWatch Papers*', which first appeared in the *Edinburgh Review*, (no 87, 1992), 22 George Street, Edinburgh EH8 9LF.

ACTION

Here are our suggestions for the first people to contact if things blow up in the Gulf again – and about peace campaigns generally.

AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND

Peace Movement Aotearoa, PO Box 9314 Wellington, tel (4) 32828 129; New Zealand Foundation for Peace Studies, PB Box 4110, Auckland, tel (9) 3732 379; Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), PO Box 8558, Symonds St, Auckland; Palestine Human Rights Campaign, PO Box 29168, Christchurch, tel (3) 352 7393.

AUSTRALIA

Campaign Against the Arms Trade (Theo McKay) tel (9) 481 1233 or c/o Parliament House, Canberra 2600, tel (6) 277 3790; Greenpeace, 37 Nicholson Road, Balmain 2041, tel (2) 555 7044.

CANADA

Canadian Peace Alliance, 555 Bloor St West, No 5, Toronto, Ontario M5S 1Y6, tel (416) 588 5555, fax (416) 588 5556; United Nations Association, 63 Sparks St, Ste 808, Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5A6, tel (613) 232 5751, fax (613) 563 2455; Project Ploughshares, Conrad Grebel College, Waterloo, Ontario N2L 3G6, tel (519) 888 6541, fax (519) 885 0014.

UNITED KINGDOM

Campaign Against the Arms Trade, 11 Goodwin St, Finsbury Park, London N4 3HQ, tel (71) 281 0298; Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), 162 Holloway Road, London N7 8DQ, tel (71) 700 2524; Active Resistance to the Roots of War (ARROW), (David Polden), c/o CND or tel (71) 607 5013; Committee for a Just Peace in the Middle East, Venture Centre, Unity Wharf, Mill St, London SE21 2BH, tel (71) 231 9845.

UNITED STATES

Middle East Watch, 485 Fifth Av, New York, NY 10017, tel (212) 972 8400, fax (212) 972 0905; Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee, 4201 Connecticut Av NW, Ste 500, Washington, DC 20008, tel (202) 244 2990, fax (202) 244 3196; Mobilization for Survival, 45 John St, Ste 811, New York, NY 10038, tel (212) 385 2222; Center for Defense Information, 1500 Massachusetts Av NW, Washington, DC 20005, tel (202) 862 0700, fax (202) 862 0708.

By far the best regular coverage can be found in the journal *Middle East Report*, Suite 119, 1500 Mass Ave NW, Washington DC 20005, US.

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Shrivelled up

Parched soil and empty stomachs

MILLIONS of people in Southern Africa are affected by the worst drought in living memory. Crops have burnt up and 18 million people are facing starvation. Traditionally Zimbabwe and South Africa are the bread baskets for the region, exporting large quantities of maize. Now they are importers. In Zimbabwe some 40 per cent of the people who live from subsistence farming have lost their crops. Countrywide, about five million people are affected, and the country will need to import 1.7 million tons of grain in 1992/3.

In Southern Africa as a whole over 11 million tons of food will be needed between now and April 1993. Although most of this will come from normal commercial imports, the international community will need to provide four million tons of cereals. Of this 1.6 million tons will be used for free emergency distribution to the most severely affected regions.

The international community has not adequately responded to the UN/Southern African Development Coordination Conference appeal launched on 1 June. Particularly worrying is that pledges for emergency aid for the people most at risk are less than half of what was requested. Furthermore, almost none of the food aid pledged has arrived in Africa and pledges need to be turned into deliveries now.

From Zambia & Zimbabwe Report, (29 June 1992) by Oxfam Director, David Bryer and Liberal Democrat MP, Simon Hughes. Available from Oxfam House, 274 Banbury Road, Oxford OX2 7DZ, UK.

Readers may remember the happy picture (above left) that we used on the front cover of our Almanac, a couple of years ago. It was of Lambert Nyawere, a Zimbabwean farmer, welcoming the rains to his field in 1989. Recently the same photographer returned to Lambert's village, to see how he was faring in the drought. The other two pictures give some idea. He is a defeated man. 'Last year the harvest was disappointing,' according to Lambert, 'there was not enough rain. But this



year the skies have given us nothing. I have waited for the rains. Regularly dark clouds have formed; I hoped and prayed and received just a few spots. What I have sown: maize, tobacco, pepper and tomatoes, they have shrivelled up when scarcely knee-high. Now my cattle are suffering. This morning one of my cows was unable to stand up any longer. Never have we experienced such a drought. Even the old people in the village cannot remember such a disaster.'

Sign of the Cross

On 12 October this year Pope John Paul II is planning to bless a lighthouse in Santo Domingo, the capital of the Dominican Republic. It has been built to celebrate the 500th anniversary of Columbus' arrival, bringing with him Christianity to Latin America.

The *Far a Colon* (Columbus Lighthouse) is located on the outskirts of Santo Domingo. It lies, as if on its back, measuring 800 feet long by 150 feet high. It hasn't been built higher because of the hurricane risk. The

lighthouse produces a light show high into the Caribbean sky, projecting a huge cross onto the clouds. The snag is that the evening has to be cloudy for the cross to be reflected.

The light will be seen, so the builders claim, from Jamaica. Costing almost \$250 million, it is an expensive *son et lumière* show, with the powerful lights having to be imported from Disneyland in the US. Unfortunately most Santo Domingo citizens, as well as those from the rest of the country, go without electricity.

Jonathan Blagbrough



ALL THREE PHOTOS BY MICHEL SZULC-KRZYZANOWSKI

CHILDREN

Infant soldiers

Too young to vote, old enough to die



CHARLES PAYNTER / CAMERA PRESS

Boy soldiers destined for the Karen rebel army, training in real earnest in Myanmar/Burma.

AROUND the world tens of thousands of children under 18 years of age have no choice but to put life and limb at risk when they are forced by adults to go to war, according to a recently published report by Quaker Peace and Service. In Afghanistan children no more than nine years old are used to fight on both sides of the conflict. In Sri Lanka national human-rights workers are now campaigning to protect the rights of children after some as young as ten years old have been forced to enrol in the armed militias. And during the Iran-Iraq war, the *International Herald Tribune* described groups of 20 children, tied together to prevent escapes, hurling themselves onto barbed wire and walking into Iraqi minefields so as to make the way safe for Iranian tanks.

UNICEF Intercom reported in April 1990 that six-year-olds have been captured by the Mozambique guerilla group RENAMO and ordered to 'sack villages, shoot townspeople and even burn their own homes and kill their own relatives'. Their report confirms an earlier account which asserts that children are systematically used by RENAMO because it is easier to control them than adults, who tend to run away.

Deep in the jungle of Peru in the 'liberated zone' of the upper Huallaga Valley, the *Sendero Luminoso* or 'Shining Path' guerrilla movement has also been training children between 10 and 15 years old for its military units, according to Alain Layout in his book *Gosses de Guerre*. The Peruvian Government has itself been accused of sending armed forces to raid villages and steal children for the army.

These are just some of many cases cited

in the report which catalogues the tragic part played by children in war. With evidence from 21 countries including the UK, Burma, the Philippines and Israel, the report recommends that an optional protocol should be added to the United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child, whereby ratifying states would agree not to recruit youngsters aged under 18 into their armed forces. ■

Child Soldiers: The recruitment of children into armed forces and their participation in hostilities, ed Martin Macpherson. From Quaker Peace and Service, Friends House, Euston Road, London NW1 2BJ, UK, or Quaker United Nations Office, Avenue du Mervelet 13, 1209 Geneva, Switzerland.



Refugees from Mozambique's bitter civil war.

Boozers and the donkey treatment

Women vigilantes in India's north-east state of Manipur have discovered a tough way to cure men's alcohol addiction. Any man caught drinking by one of a mushrooming number of female temperance patrols is tied naked on a donkey and paraded through the streets.

The strategy has evolved from a decades-long campaign by the Women's War Association to ban alcohol consumption. Dubbed 'The Torchbearers' because of the paraffin torches they carry, the women wait at street corners, and whistle up reinforcements when they detect a clutch of drunken men. First they force their victims to tell them the whereabouts of the local still, which they destroy. Then they start the donkey treatment.



The All Manipur Prohibition Association began after male alcoholism became endemic in the state in the 1970s and led to wife-beating, the break-up of homes and unemployment. By the mid-1980s the movement's membership had risen to over 300,000 women, and they started to patrol the city streets looking for drinking dens and their patrons.

'Anyone caught by the patrols never wants a repeat experience and is usually cured of drinking,' says a Manipur Government official who asked that his name not be used.

Rahul Bedi, New Delhi/ Pacific News Service

Pretoria's Berlin Wall

It slithers across the barren rocky soil between Mozambique and South Africa like a sinister electric eel. It is a cruel and lethal 40-foot wide barrier consisting of six coils of razor wire on each side of an eight-strand electrified fence, built by South Africa in 1985 to keep refugees out. It has killed at least 900 people in six years - more than the victims at the Berlin Wall - and thousands more have been slashed by the razor wire and burnt from the near-lethal levels of electricity in the fence. Pretoria says it has now turned down the voltage to below-lethal levels, and refugees are more often caught in the all-entangling coils of razor wire from which it is nearly impossible to escape. Bodies sprawl across the high-voltage fence, showing just how desperate is the desire of Mozambicans to live away from the marauding bands of the Mozambique National Resistance (RENAMO).

The fence runs about 40 miles from the Swazi border to the edge of Kruger National Park at the South African border town of Komatipoort, cutting off escape routes into the KaNgwane homeland of the Eastern Transvaal.

From Horizon, Harare (reprinted in World Press Review, Vol. 39 No. 7).

SERGIO SANTIMANO / AGENCIA DE INFORMACAO MOZAMBIQUE

BRAZIL

Patrões and pistoleiros

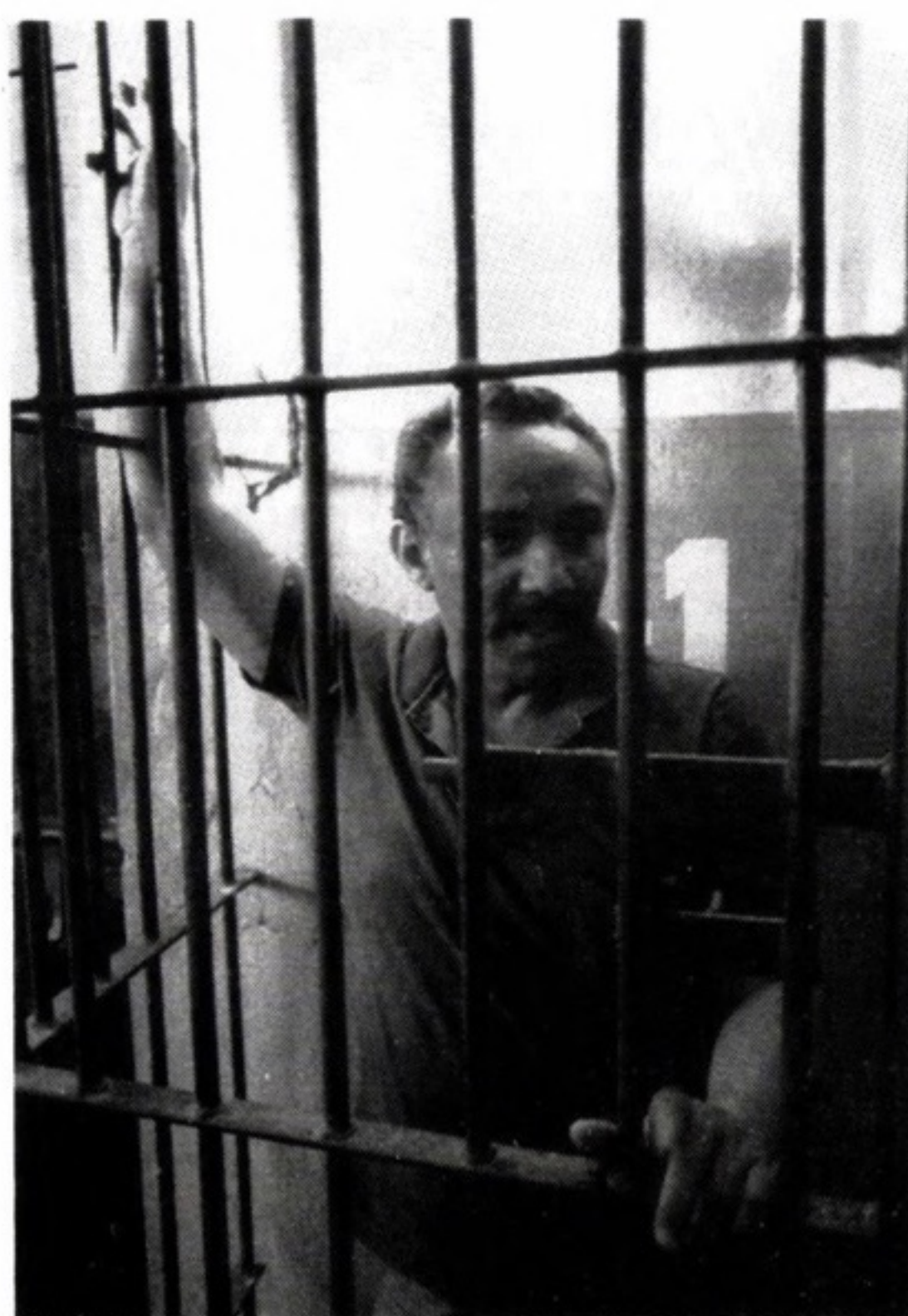
Brazil's land barons refine tactics

'My nephew is a gunman,' says 56-year-old union activist, Antonio Arruda during an interview near the edge of the Amazon rainforest. 'He works for the big *patrões* (landowners) and he's a professional. But when they asked him to kill me, family loyalty won out. He tipped me off.'

The landowner rumoured to have offered \$1,500 for Arruda's head had reason to want him killed. Arruda had already helped organize a peasants' occupation of privately-owned land near the landowners' estate. Now he feared the land-hungry peasants might move on to his property too. Arruda's death could intimidate them into staying put.

Killings are common in this part of the world. In the little town of Ze Doca, three rural leaders have been murdered in the past five years. The pattern is repeated all over Brazil. The Pastoral Land Commission (CPT), a group affiliated to the Roman Catholic Church, reports that more than 1,684 Brazilian rural workers have been assassinated since 1964.

Of these, only 25 cases have been



A pistoleiro hired by cattle-ranchers to kill slash-and-burn cultivators in Brazil's Amazon forests. The ranchers' idea is to stop squatting on abandoned cattle-ranch land. Very few of those brought to trial are ever convicted.

brought to trial and only 14 trials have ended in convictions – a record of impunity that has led some to carry out their own revenge killings.

In only one case – the widely publicized 1988 murder of union leader Chico Mendes – has any landowner who ordered such a killing been brought to justice. Even in that

celebrated case, the judgment against the man convicted of ordering the assassination was recently overturned.

These days, according to a just-published report by the CPT, Arruda typifies the kind of worker who is increasingly being singled out by the landowners' *pistoleiros*. Instead of financing indiscriminate killings to scare peasants off disputed lands, Brazil's big landowners are targeting the church and union leaders who are central to the organization of peasant resistance. They aim to maximize the impact of the murders while reducing the number of people killed, undermining the morale of peasant struggles with the least amount of fuss.

As some 60 per cent of farmland is controlled by two per cent of the population, this means Brazil has one of the most highly concentrated patterns of land ownership in the world. The tiny elite that rules the countryside want to keep things that way.

Meanwhile popular organizations have become better organized and peasant-led land occupations are increasingly common. Last year alone, according to the Commission, 13,844 families took part in such occupations.

As the landowners refine their response, the number of rural assassinations appears to be dropping. Last year 54 workers are known to have died – down from 79 in 1990. And behind it all activists like Antonio Arruda continue their struggle.

Alexander Norris/ Gemini



Top of the world

If the top of Mount Everest sounds like a quiet and tranquil place, think again. On 12 May this year, so many climbers were waiting to reach the summit, they had to queue. By the end of the short day 32 people had stood on the top of the world. More climbers reached the top from January to June this year than in the first 25 years after Hilary and Tenzing's first ascent in 1953.

Base camp at the foot of the mountain is particularly squalid, with unseemly fights breaking out between mountaineers from different countries. Even half-way up the mountain, the squabbling has continued. Teams from Aotearoa/NZ and the US have complained that they were carved up by a group of Russians who strayed from their designated route and cut in front of them.

Now the usual laws of rationing are going to apply and bring some exclusivity back to Everest. Prices are going up. At the moment the Nepalese Ministry of Tourism charges any group wanting to climb Everest \$10,000. From autumn 1993 this will rise to \$50,000 for groups of up to five and \$70,000 for a group of seven. Better news is that all expeditions must in future bring their rubbish down the mountain and take it out of the country.

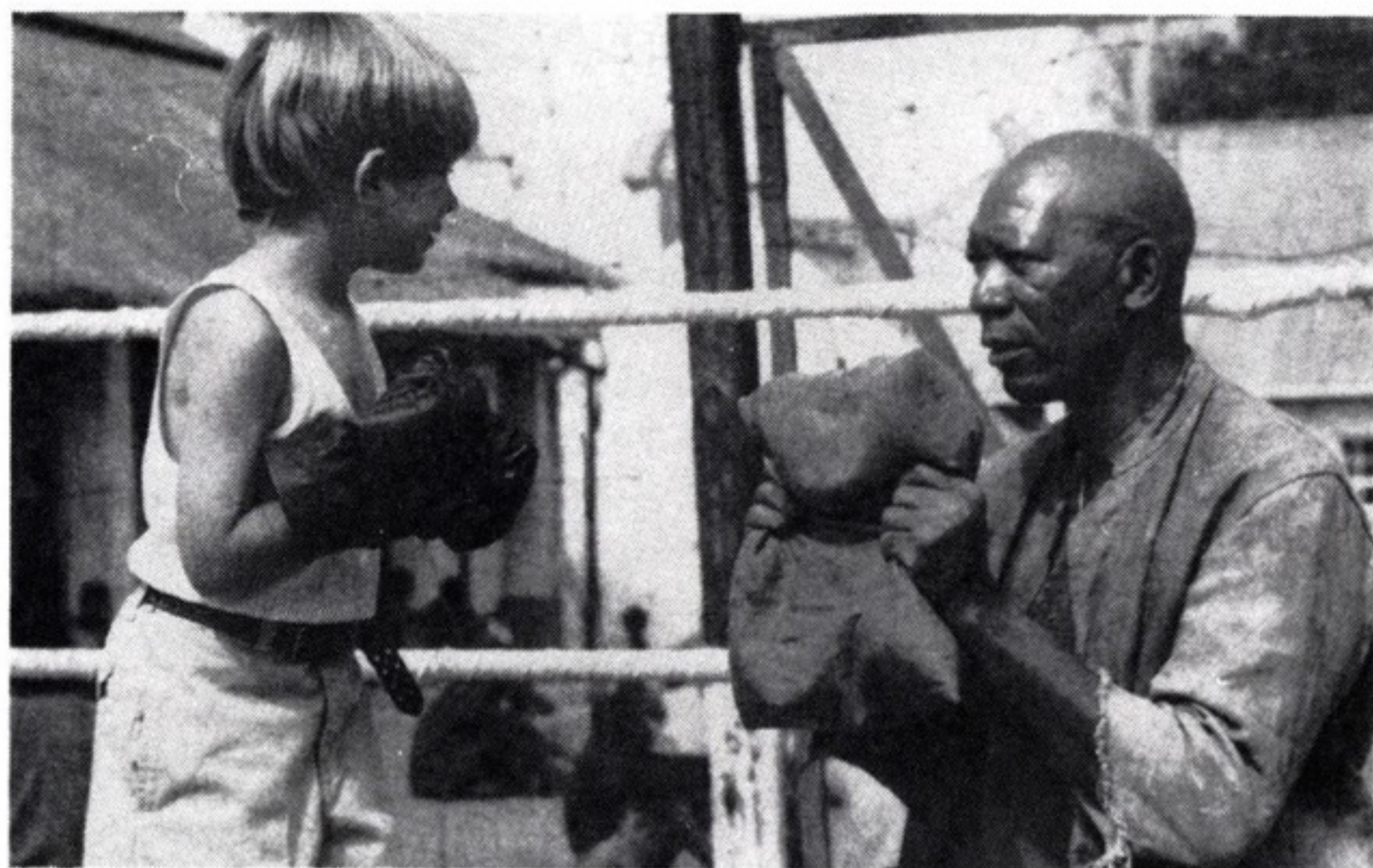
From The Economist, (Vol. 324, No. 7770, 1992).

END

END Quote

A human being is a part of the whole called by us the universe, a part limited in time and space. She or he can experience herself or himself, and their personal thoughts and feelings, as something separated from the rest, a kind of separation-delusion of her or his consciousness. This delusion can be a kind of prison for us, restricting us to our personal desires and to affection for a few persons nearest to us. Our task must be to free ourselves from this prison by widening our circle of compassion to embrace all living creatures and the whole of nature in all its beauty.

Albert Einstein



Winsome white boy socks apartheid on the jaw in *The Power of One*.



The Power of One

directed by John G Avildsen

Christopher Columbus – The Discovery

directed by John Glen

Critics during the 1980s made a point of complaining that the decade's mainstream political films missed the mark. Costa Gavra's films weren't acute enough. *The Emerald Forest* romanticized the rainforest. *Cry Freedom* failed to get to grips with the wider problems of apartheid. But you have to think that such nit-picking is thoroughly misplaced when you set work like the above against two new Hollywood films of quite staggering inanity.

The Power of One is South Africa through the eyes of the director of *The Karate Kid* and *Rocky V*. It is indeed a boxing movie of sorts in which a blue-eyed white boy socks apartheid on the jaw. Based on a semi-autobiographical novel by Bryce Courtenay, it is the story of PK, an English boy isolated in an Afrikaner world in the 1930s. The impossibly winsome PK gets over a spate of bedwetting by facing an elephant from the spirit world; learns to defy bigger Afrikaner boys drunk on Hitler's rise in Europe; and ends up hanging around a camp for aliens under the tutelage of a kindly old German musician. There he learns to use his fists in the cause of justice and to teach a congregation of Zulu people how to sing in harmony.

The latter scene – a clean-cut

young white kid acting as choir-master to massed Africans – is the most embarrassing in the film but there are other deeply uncomfortable moments. The love plot between PK and the blushing pigtailed daughter of a nationalist politician; the gloating scene in which Avildsen shows us a leering camp guard humiliate a black man as if mainstream US audiences wouldn't otherwise quite grasp the subject; and the ludicrous scenes of PK learning his African politics by gazing deep into mighty waterfalls. It's presumably intended as a sort of Child's Guide to the Iniquities of Apartheid but any clued-up kid will see through it in a shot.

The title supposedly alludes to the power of one people, but in practice it means the power of one kid with blue eyes and a sensible haircut. It's an insulting variation on the Great Man theory of history which gets a considerably sillier airing in the first of the forthcoming spate of Columbus films. You'd have thought someone would have told producers Alexander and Ilya Salkind (the purses behind the *Superman* series) that Columbus wasn't universally recognized as a good guy these days. Here, as played by Georges Corraface, CC is a globe-trotting, swaggering James Bond in thigh boots (director John Glen is a veteran of the Bond

series), who's first seen merrily beating hell out of some dastardly Turks and never looks back.

Brando sulks and blubbers as an improbably mild Torquemada, Tom Selleck sports a ludicrous wig as King Ferdinand, and Rachel Ward plays Queen Isabella with an accent that suggests she'd already been to the Americas and back before CC even thought of the idea. When the ships finally touch shore, the sailors are greeted by the sort of busty maidens not seen since the heyday of *National Geographic*.

The idea that native Americans might have been exploited is given a cursory airing but even then their maltreatment is effectively attributed to one bad apple among the invading party – which allows CC to ascend to glory in a final shot of triumphalist vulgarity.

Carry On Columbus is forthcoming. Even it will be in danger of improving on this one.

Politics ☆

Entertainment ☆



books

The Third Revolution

by Paul Harrison (IB Tauris/Penguin)

This book is so encyclopaedic in its scope that it could easily have been subtitled 'The World, the Universe and Everything'. If you want to know the number of butterfly species that are unique to Madagascar or exactly how many tons of excreta the average American dumps in her lifetime, you need look no further. The sheer quantity of information Harrison has marshalled to make his case is quite staggering. This plenitude, coupled with his elegant and eloquent writing style, produce a rather dizzying amalgam: as though Shakespeare had turned his hand to the British Government's *Social Trends*. We are not used to having our statis-

tics served with such aplomb.

Indeed, Shakespeare's own weak-willed Hamlet is used as a symbol throughout to convey the dangers of our own species' procrastination. Of course we have read all this stuff before, albeit more ploddingly: ozone holes, vanishing lemurs, red algae; time running out, time for action, a planet in trust for our children...

Where Harrison's book differs is in putting all the evidence in historical perspective; he quotes Plato and Hu-tzu, for example, bewailing deforestation and flooding over two millennia ago. Its other major strength is his systematic interrogation of the evidence in search of the theoretical Holy Grail of a sustainable world. He is quite mischievous in his overturning of development's sacred cows, taking an almost malicious delight in arguing against both Left and Right, Malthusian and 'cornucopian' alike.

All this cow-toppling is refreshing and discomforting by turns – depending on which cows are being toppled. The only missing actors on his global stage seem to be the multinational corporations: those amoral colossi who stride our world and laugh down at our little democratic processes.

That apart, if you want a book that tells you all you need to know about environment and development – passionately, provocatively, persuasively – this is the one for you.

Politics ☆☆☆☆

Entertainment ☆☆☆☆



music

Revolution in Motion

by Olodum (World Circuit)

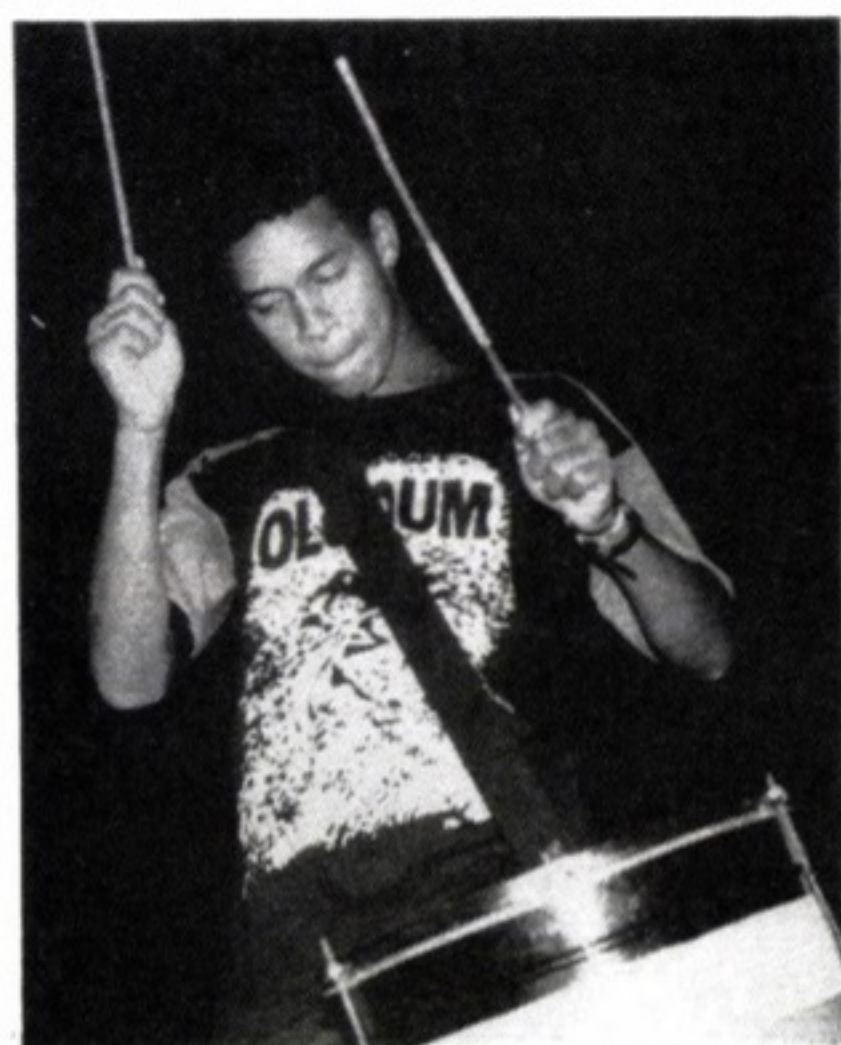
Ritual Beating System

by Bahia Black (Axiom)

Olodum are the Brazilian percussion group that appeared on Paul Simon's *Rhythm of the Saints* LP. Two new records feature them in a rather more prominent role: one a compilation of tracks from four of their records; the other an adventurous New York-based project. Taking their name from the Yoruba word for God, Olodum are a 15-strong *bloco afro* (carnival group) from Salvador, where they also run a cultural organization involving theatre, dance and cultural debate. Black identity is their central theme both within Brazil and in terms of links between Africa and the Americas

O glorious day! Chris Columbus 007 sets foot in the New World.





Formidable fire from Olodum.

—their songs address universal apartheid, for example, their cultural affinities with Madagascar, and the struggles of the ghetto district where they are based.

The 14-track compilation features the group's thunderous martial rhythms — not that far from the Drummers of Burundi — leavened with call-and-response vocals and interventions from the piquant soprano sax of Bira Reis. The fire is formidable, the only problem being that the insistency of the rhythmic attack can be a little wearing.

Politics ★★★★★

Entertainment ★★★

As part of Bahia Black, on the other hand, Olodum fit into a complex, incongruous and more seductive structure. The project is helmed by New York's Bill Laswell, a producer equally at home with African artists and American jazz avant-gardists — not to mention heavy metal. Laswell's pet concept is 'collision music' which involves bringing together musicians from wildly divergent but complementary spheres and seeing what comes out. Thus Bahia Black teams Olodum with eloquent young Brazilian balladist Carlinhos Brown and US jazz notables Herbie Hancock, Wayne Shorter and Henry Threadgill.

It's an inspired set, mixing the musicians in permutations ranging from melodic gentleness to finely honed urban funk. There are great solo showcases in here but it's a genuinely democratic project with no personalities grandstanding it — something you could never have said about *Rhythm of the Saints*.

Politics ★★★★★

Entertainment ★★★★★

STAR RATING

Excellent ★★★★★

Very good ★★★★★

Good ★★★

Fair ★★

Poor ★

Reviews editor: Chris Brazier

THE classic

The Harp and the Shadow

... being the novel that examines the Columbus legend

WHEN I complete this review, I will send it to the *NI* using a recently issued first-class British commemorative stamp. The stamp carries the image of a seaborne caravel and the caption 'Landfall in the Americas 1492: Christopher Columbus'. But there is a profile of Queen Elizabeth II in golden silhouette too and, also in gold, a logo bearing the acronym 'CEPT' and the word 'EUROPA'. The logo belongs to the 'Central European Post and Telecoms', one of many continent-wide ventures which has sprung up in 1992, the year of supposed 'European Unity' in a single economic market.

This seemingly simple stamp is actually a rather complex text. It asserts British sovereignty and European unity (as the British Conservative Party has been trying to do for a considerable time) and exploits an historical coincidence which facilitates notions of European supremacy and the importance of monarchy (Columbus being a cosmopolitan European sponsored by Spanish monarchs). It is thus an example in miniature of the current Columbus mania noted by a recent issue of the *NI* (226). Alejo Carpentier's *The Harp and the Shadow* is one of the minority of recent texts which has challenged rather than intensified this mania.

Carpentier's novel is in three sections. The first takes place in the Vatican in 1864 on the day Pope Pius IX signs a document which he hopes will be the first step towards making Columbus a saint. Pius's motives for initiating the procedure are shown to be political rather than religious, part of the Church's constant scheming to shore up its power in Latin America. The myth of Columbus as 'discoverer' of a 'new world', he recognizes, can become a metaphor which will foster the illusion of a colossus astride the continents: the Church itself. The myth is dependent, of course, on limited knowledge of Columbus's life. But the problem is that his canonization is unlikely unless more is known about him. This section of the novel closes with Pius imagining the excitement of being the friar who had heard Columbus's final confession.

The second part of the novel consequently presents us with Columbus, speaking in his own voice, on his deathbed in 1506. What we overhear is all that he eventually decides *not* to tell his confessor, the reality rather than the myth. Thus we learn that he is, by and large, a con artist, a lecher, a racist and a murderer. He is a self-intoxicated dreamer, an indifferent navigator and a vicious slave trader. Like Pius IX, his pretensions to power are covered in a gloss of religion, part of the book's achievement being to show how such political strategies have

continued long after Columbus. Ultimately, however, the narration of the story at the end point of Columbus's life reveals the most startling thing about him: that he was an amazing failure whose small achievements occurred by accident rather than design.

The novel's third section takes place as the tercentenary of Columbus's first voyage approaches. Pius is dead and there is little enthusiasm for the Columbus cause. Columbus's ghost itself haunts the Vatican in deluded expectation of his success. He witnesses the devil's advocate, a blatant demagogue, exposing him as the institutor of slavery in the Americas and (comically seen as an equivalent misdemeanour) the father of a bastard. His chances of sainthood demolished, we witness Columbus's shadow vanishing into the air of St Peter's Square.

The verbal richness and satirical bite of this novel ought to be recommended every bit as much as the manner in which it retells a familiar narrative. Carpentier's style is often described as 'baroque' but *The Harp and the Shadow*, at 160 pages, is composed with a careful economy which isn't suggested by that

word. The reader gets the impression that Carpentier, who died shortly after completing the book, knew all that there was to know about Columbus, and knew it backwards. But his erudition is far from showy and is often most evident in seemingly throwaway sentences. Treating such a vile chapter of world history with humour was both difficult and risky, but Carpentier pulled it off, perhaps because he himself had a sure footing in both continents too, having divided his life mainly between Cuba and Paris.

But *The Harp and the Shadow* was not written to lay the Columbus myth to rest. First published in Spanish more than a decade before the quincentenary, it rather alerts us to the resurrection of that myth which people in Britain can now witness in the simple act of posting a letter. As ever, it is not a simple celebration of discovery that is at issue. In Europe, the coincidence of the Columbus quincentenary and the single market is being deliberately exploited to renew faith in Europe as the cradle of world civilization and the natural leader of global culture. In North America it is being used to stress the unity of the United States and Europe, on which the 'new world order' is supposedly based. Common to all such mythologizing is a scandalous disregard for known historical fact. *The Harp and the Shadow* is not a history book. Yet, written as it is from a completely different cultural and ideological position, it convincingly abjures the legend we are elsewhere being persuaded to believe.

Macdonald Daly

The Harp and the Shadow by Alejo Carpentier (first published in Spanish 1979; English version published by Andre Deutsch, 1992).





QUESTIONS

...that have always intrigued you about the world will appear in this, your section, and be answered by other readers. Please address your answers and questions to 'Curiosities'.

MARY EVANS PICTURE LIBRARY

I've heard that the croissant is linked to anti-Islamic feeling. Is this true?

● Yes. In 1683, when the armies of Christian Austria stopped the military might of Muslim Turkey at the gates of Vienna, Viennese bakers celebrated the defeat of the 'infidels' by baking the croissant. They shaped it like a crescent because this is the Islamic symbol which was also the Turkish emblem.

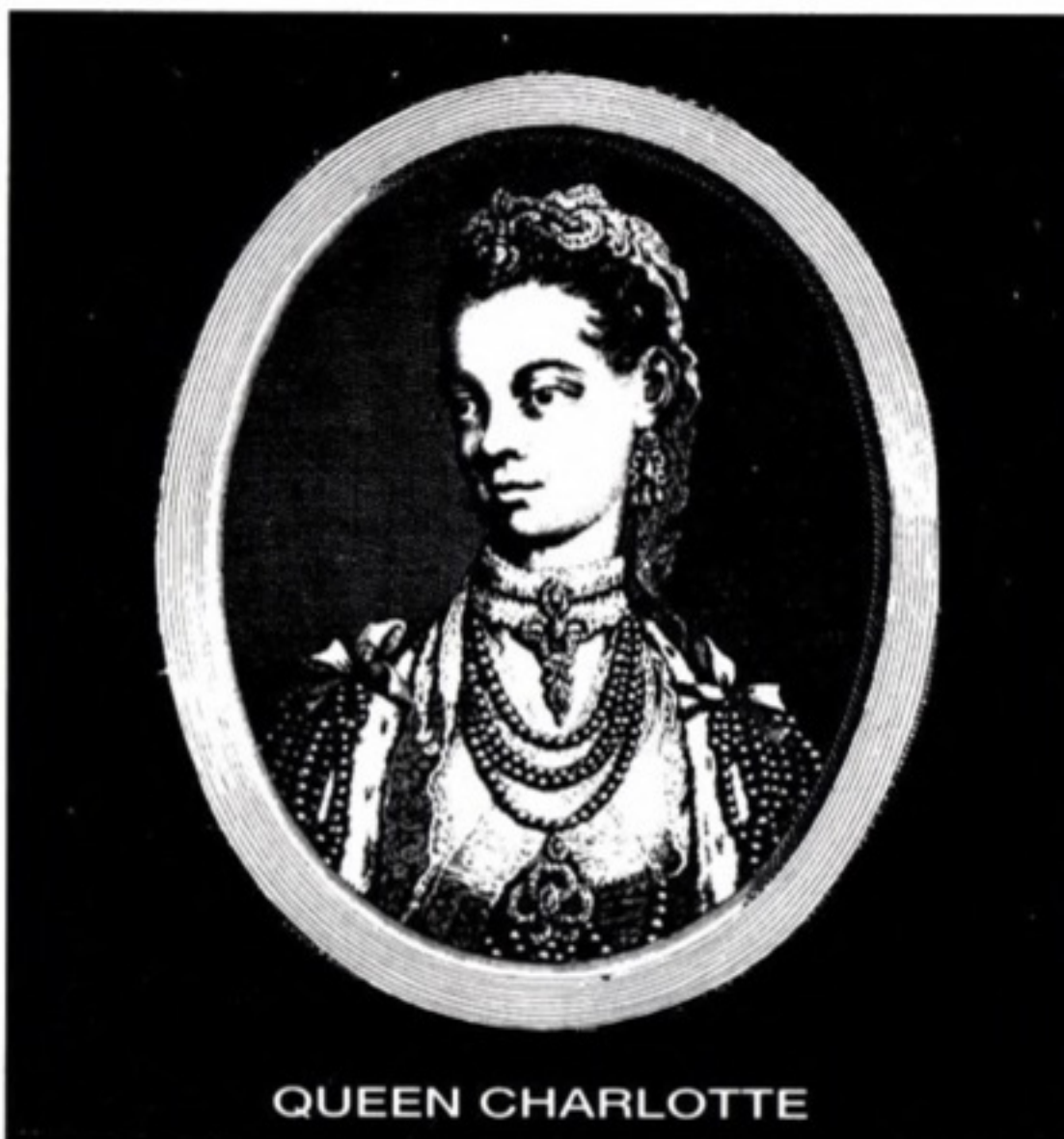
Jenny Matthews,
Portsmouth, UK

Was one of British Queen Victoria's grandmothers an African princess?

● Victoria's grandmother, the German-born Charlotte Sophia, Queen of England and consort of George III (1760-1820), was black of mixed race. Charlotte Sophia's African descent is thought to have come from her mother's side – it was fashionable for white European noblemen to have African women as lovers. For more information consult *Black Women In Antiquity*, edited by Ivan van Septima and the *African Presence in Early Europe* by J. Rogers (*Sex and Race, Vol.1*).

Lance Lewis,
Manchester, UK

● What sorts of points are questions like these supposed to prove? Is it to try and



QUEEN CHARLOTTE

unearth a past conspiracy to disguise the fact that leading figures in history were black? Such hijacking of white culture and painting it black smacks of contempt for black culture. What if I were to suggest that Martin Luther King was of Anglo-Saxon stock? Would I not be branded a racist revisionist? But it seems quite acceptable to do it the other way round.

York Ryding,
Southport, UK

Is unleaded petrol more polluting than leaded petrol?

● In response to Shell UK in NI 234, the effect of lead compounds in petrol is to retard the burning of the fuel and air mixture. This allows the mixture to be compressed further before ignition than would be the case with unleaded petrol, so increasing the power of the engine. To get the same engine power with unleaded petrol requires a larger engine, more petrol and hence more pollution.

Regarding catalytic converters, these

only work when warmed up, which in an urban situation of slowly moving traffic can take up to five miles. In the UK, 61 per cent of car journeys are under five miles. And while catalytic converters reduce the emission of polluting gases like nitrogen oxides and hydrocarbons they actually *increase* the production of carbon dioxide which causes global warming.

However well-intentioned, the effect of catalytic converters is negated by the projected increase in car use. And however dearly the representative from Shell would like us to believe that there are technological solutions for the pollution produced by the petrol her company sells, all the evidence is to the contrary.

Brenda Peuch,
London, UK

AWAITING YOUR ANSWERS:

I understand that a waterless WC – using sawdust to produce a high-grade compost – has been invented by a Swede. Does anyone know whether this WC can be sited in a house? How is it ventilated? How is it cleaned? Whether it smells? And where I can find a detailed description of it?

EM Thropp,
Credition, UK

I am told that it is better to leave a fluorescent light switched on when you leave a room, as its initial switching on cost is high compared with its running cost. Is this true and if so at what point does it become more economical to switch it off?

Anthony Twist,
Shrewsbury, UK

If you have any questions or answers please send them to *Curiosities*, *New Internationalist*, 55 Rectory Road, Oxford OX4 1BW, UK, or to your local NI office (see inside front cover).

big Bad World

ANDY W
POLYP

SPOT-THE-DIFFERENCE



ANSWER:

10 YEARS OF I.M.F. STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT POLICY

Animal Farm revisited

*'How can we get rid of the ruling Pigs and join Humankind?' asks a piglet.
Israel Shamir fast-forwards George Orwell's story of Communist totalitarianism.*

RECENTLY sifting through the archives of George Orwell I came across a long letter apparently written by one of the late writer's friends. The letter purports to be a follow-up to the events which took place on Animal Farm, that unique experiment in animal self rule:

Dear George,

My research brought me to the Farm in **shire, which you described so vividly in your book. I can't tell you how excited I was to receive the Academy grant to study the only Farm in the world where Animals managed their own affairs.

I knew that full democracy at the Farm had been substituted almost immediately by the harsh rule of Pigs and their ferocious Dogs, so I was rather afraid to cross its well-fortified perimeter. As I was driven in a Horse-cart through the wide avenues of the Farmstead, Linda the Piglet told me that the horrors of oppression described in your book were now consigned to history and a liberal system had come into existence.

The place was one of the least efficient farms in the area. But the Animals were well fed and decently housed, though in rather shabby shacks. It was not a place of total equality; a small band of specially bred Pigs was in charge. But even their superior conditions did not seem to differ greatly from the rest — a bit more grub, a slightly bigger shack, access to a Farm-owned cart.

The Animals were not content. And the closer an Animal was to the pinnacle of power, the more dissatisfied she or he was. Linda's dream was to go into the world of Humans and become the star of the Muppet Show. That evening she brought some friends round to my Human Lodge room. They were ruling Pigs and intellectual Foxes — the only kinds of the animals which a stranger like me would meet at the Farm. The proletarian Horses and peasant Cows couldn't speak Human language anyway.

All the visitors complained. The Pigs compared their sty with palaces of Texan oil millionaires (they watched 'Dallas'). I met one prominent Pig, Stinky, who had everything the Farm could give. He was the boss of the Massage parlour for the Ruling Pigs and therefore belonged to the elite. That meant unlimited grub, a nice sty in the Centre, a comfortable country cottage and opportunities to go to London and Paris.

'You must be content with your life,' I commented.

'No, I am an unhappy creature,' he whined, 'whenever I go to Paris or New York I have to economize and stay in our own service flats. The joys of the Cote d'Azur are not for me, I cannot shop in the Faubourg St Honore.'

'But you have your own pretty vacation resorts, your own jewellers,' I argued.

'They are not as good as yours,' he said firmly.

The Foxes were even more unhappy. 'We are forced to live in the same houses as horses,' a Red Fox told me. 'We with our superb education — living with those coarse beasts.' The Silver Foxes proudly proclaimed their North American origin; one showed me an article in the Encyclopaedia Britannica attesting to this fact. 'You see,' he said, 'we could be living in Beverly Hills. I have a relative who moved back to America and has landed on

Nancy Reagan's shoulders.'

'Life is so gorgeous outside,' exclaimed Linda. 'I once went to a Pig exhibition in Montreal. We stayed in golden sties, washed in huge bathtubs and were served real French fries. Just think: we all could have such a life. But our bosses will not have it. They keep telling us that Humans would eat us, slaughter us, take away our children... Tell us, how can we get rid of the ruling Pigs and join Humankind?'

I found myself in a dubious position. This enthusiasm for Human society was exciting and contagious, but the vision was patently too optimistic. I mumbled something about pork chops. Linda looked at me with horror: 'I should have figured it out for myself — if you were invited to the Farm, you must have agreed

to support Rotten's brainwashing machine. It's good that not all Humans are like that. Mr Johnson, for example...'

'Who is Mr Johnson?', I inquired.

'I am Mr Johnson,' said a tall, blond, clean-shaven man in a well-cut grey suit who entered my room without knocking.

'Dear Mr Johnson,' the others greeted him. 'You are back. Did you bring those little things you promised?'

'Yes, I did. Here is a pack of Marlboros for you, Linda, and some Christian Dior for you, Stinky, and blue jeans for you, Rose...'

I learned that Mr Johnson was the heir to the huge Johnson Ranch to the West and was a regular visitor to Animal Farm where he would buy up surplus produce and sell nice things from the Big World.

He later told me that his father, Jamison Johnson senior, dreamed of

making his eastern neighbour's lands part of his estate. If modernized, Animal Farm could be a good source of income, producing milk, meat and hides...

Business aside, Mr Johnson senior was quite obsessed with the idea of regaining Animal Farm for people. 'The thought of animals ruling themselves is a horrible profanity,' he would say, 'it could lead my cows and horses into temptation.'

Anyway, Mr Johnson junior had come that evening for a special religious occasion — to celebrate the Cargo Cult. Its Chief Priest was Stinky.

'Ladies and gentlemen,' Stinky proclaimed, 'let us thank our Great Benefactor, dear Mr Johnson. And let us thank The Great Box of Goods.' The animals cheered.

But Mr Johnson had some bad news: 'We tried to convince Chairman Rotten to sell us some meadows which border with our Ranch, but he didn't agree. That is why you cannot have all the sweets and goodies you asked for, dear Stinky.'

'Bloody Rotten,' fumed Stinky, 'What do we need those meadows for? We have enough meadows. It's sweets we are short of. Next week I'll come to your ranch and we shall see what we can do.'

They walked away hand in hand.

I did not understand then that I had witnessed the great moment: the beginning of the revolution which was to change the face of Animal Farm...



ILLUSTRATION: ALAN HUGHES

Israel Shamir, an Israeli journalist based in Moscow, continues this story next month.

Malaysia

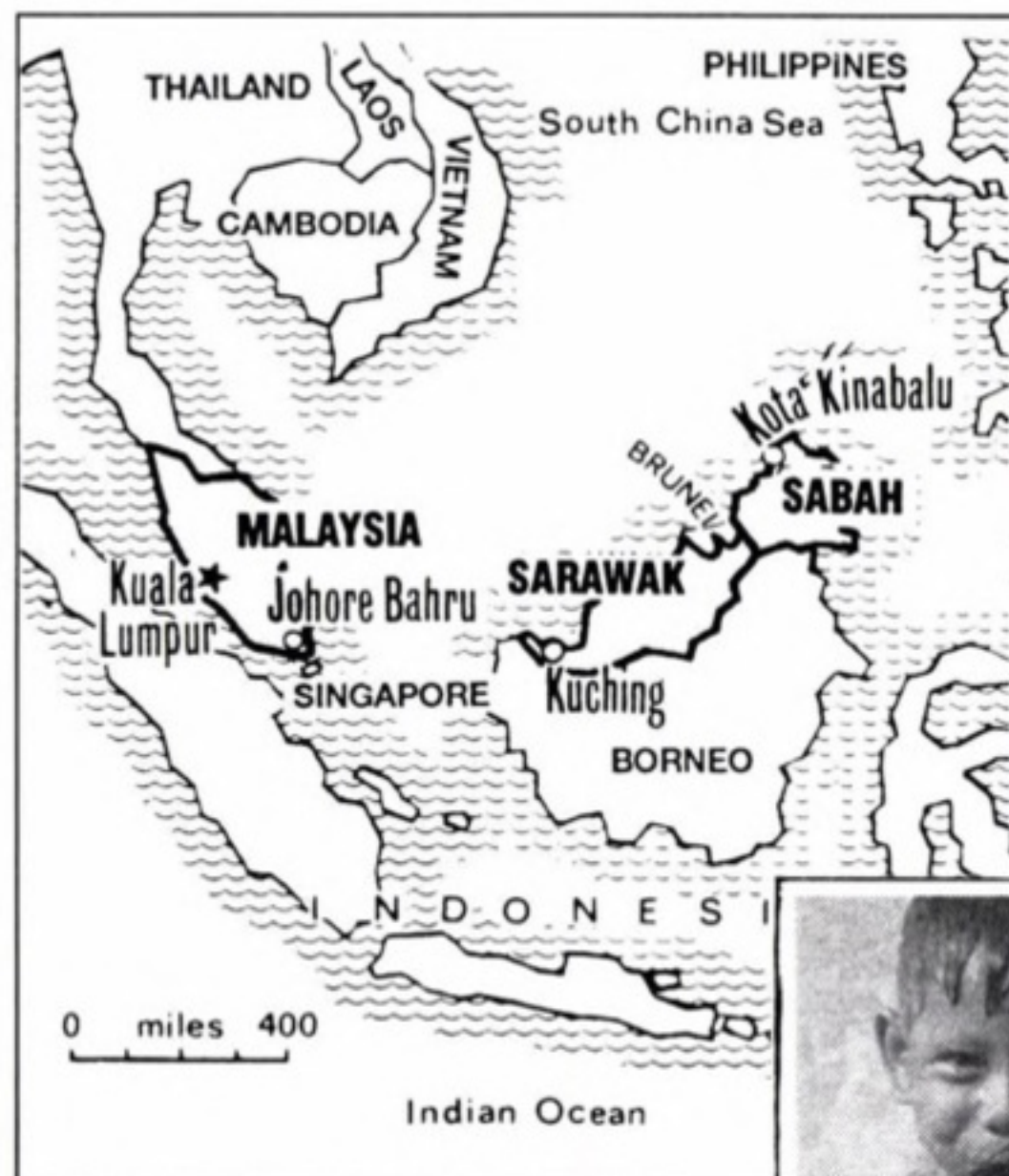
IN the clammy heat of downtown Penang you can stop by a streetside hawker and buy a drink made from one of the many fruits displayed on the stall — starfruit or watermelon, guava or pineapple.

Malaysia seems a country of ease and plenty, with its fertile soil, kindly climate and efficient infrastructure. It is a rapidly modernizing nation which wants to maintain distinct South-East Asian traditions and keep its Malay, Chinese and Indian communities in harmony.

The beaches, delicious food and pleasant people make Malaysia a tourist's delight. But the country has often attracted news headlines for a darker side: whenever someone is caught possessing drugs — and hanged as a result.

Malaysian leaders are still smarting at the treatment they receive from Western nations which castigate Kuala Lumpur for its imprisonment-without-trial laws and for hacking down the country's tropical forests. Environmentalists predict that Sabah (on the island of Borneo) will be 'logged out' by the end of the 1990s, despite protests from the region's victimized and dwindling tribes.

Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamed, who is considered



authoritarian and combative by critics, is under strain at home because Islamic fundamentalism is spreading, especially in impoverished Kelantan state in the north. Muslim voters there recently installed an anti-Mahathir group called the Pan Malaysian Islamic Party. Though Islam is already

Malaysia's official religion, many Muslims now demand stricter laws.

Despite strong Islamic links, Malaysia's Government supported the United Nations' authorization to use force against Iraq in the Gulf War, ignoring the hundreds of Malaysians who loudly

volunteered to defend Baghdad. But the War's biggest impact was mostly a slump in international tourism.

Mahathir's multi-racial coalition Government is also grappling with demands for independence in the oil and timber-rich Sabah state. The struggle for Sabah also threatens to divide Malaysia because the movement for autonomy is led by Christians while the rest of the nation is controlled by Muslims.

Mahathir claims: 'There is some connection with a third country — I don't know which — but there is a definite plot to take Sabah out of the (Malaysian) federation'. It is unclear if he was suspicious of Indonesia or the Philippines, which objected in the 1960s to Sabah joining Malaysia.

The Government is also under attack for its use of the Internal Security Act, said to be designed originally to prevent racial conflict between Malays, Chinese and Indians. But critics say the Government also uses it against politicians, trade unionists, community workers, environmentalists, religious leaders and others to crush dissent and human rights.

Richard S Ehrlich

AT A glance

Excellent ★★★★★
Good ★★★★
Fair ★★★
Poor ★★
Appalling ★



POLITICS

Government intolerant of local and foreign critics.



1980



INCOME DISTRIBUTION ★★★

Reasonably equitable; 17% of the population is said to live in poverty.

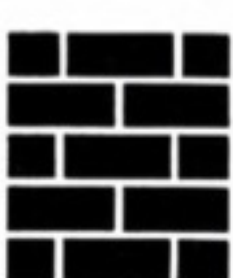
1980★★



LITERACY ★★★★★

70% for women; 78% for men. Widespread use of English.

1980★★★



SELF-RELIANCE ★★★★★

Prosperous and attracting foreign investment.

1980★★



FREEDOM ★★

Draconian imprisonment-without-trial law puts human rights at a low.

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POSITION OF WOMEN ★★

Though modern society allows women to work, Islamic tradition curtails their ability to reach the top.

1980★★



LIFE EXPECTANCY ★★★★★

70 years (US 76 years)

1980★★★

Leader Prime Minister Dr Mahathir Mohamed.

Economy GNP per capita \$2,320 (US \$21,790)

Main exports: Tin and rubber, followed by machinery and transport equipment and other goods; timber from Sabah and pepper, cocoa and oil from Sarawak. Also manufactured goods and palm oil. One of the world's fastest growing economies.

Main imports: Intermediate and consumer goods.

People 17.9 million

Health Infant mortality 16 per 1,000 live births (US 9 per 1,000)

Culture Former British colony, occupied by Japan during World War II. Malays control much of the Government, Chinese run some of the biggest businesses; there is also a sizable Indian minority.

Religion Islam is the national and majority religion.

Languages Bahasa Malaysia is the national language. English common in commerce and industry. Chinese dialects, Tamil and Punjabi also spoken.

Sources Asian Development Bank, World Health Organization, World Development Report 1992, The Asia and Pacific Review 1991/92, Government statistics.

Last profiled in January 1980



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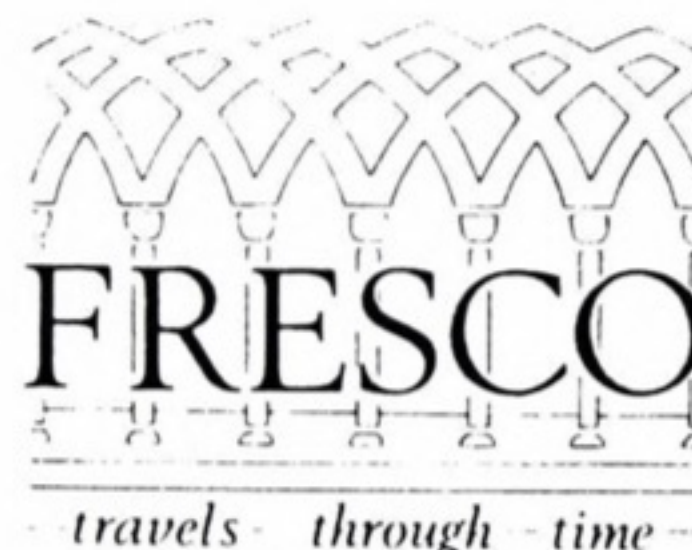
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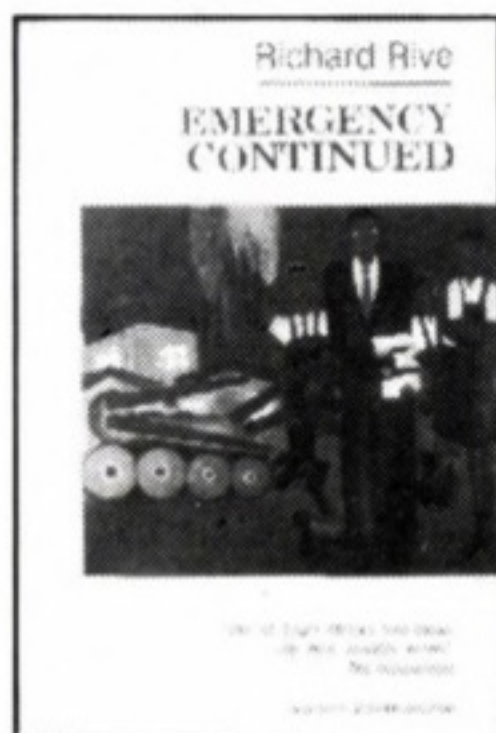
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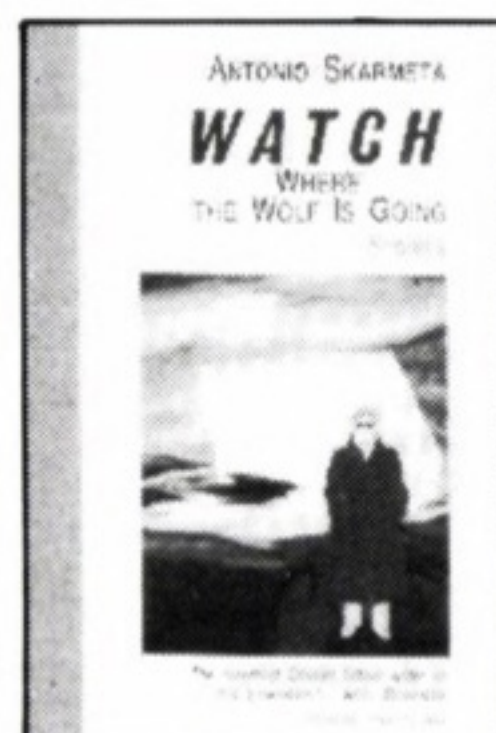
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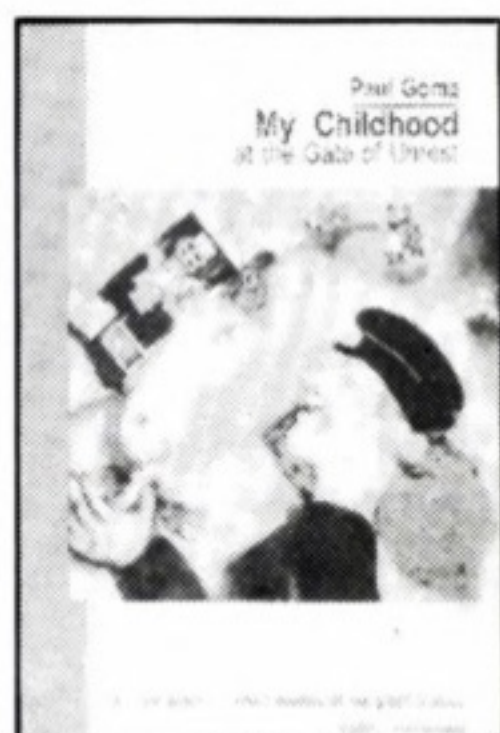
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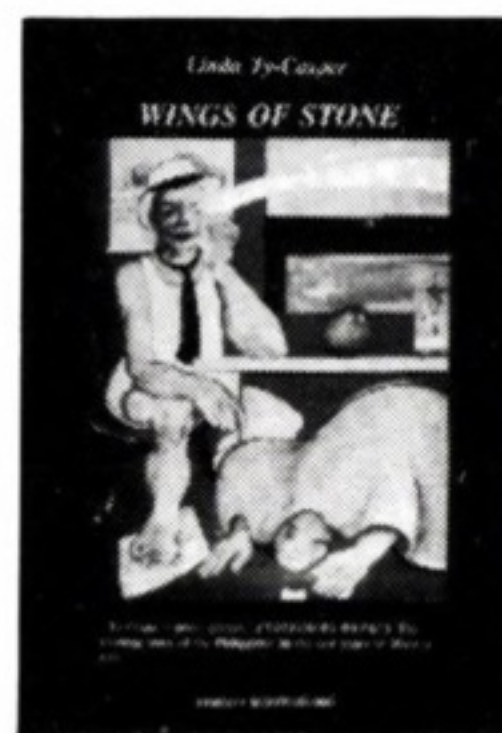
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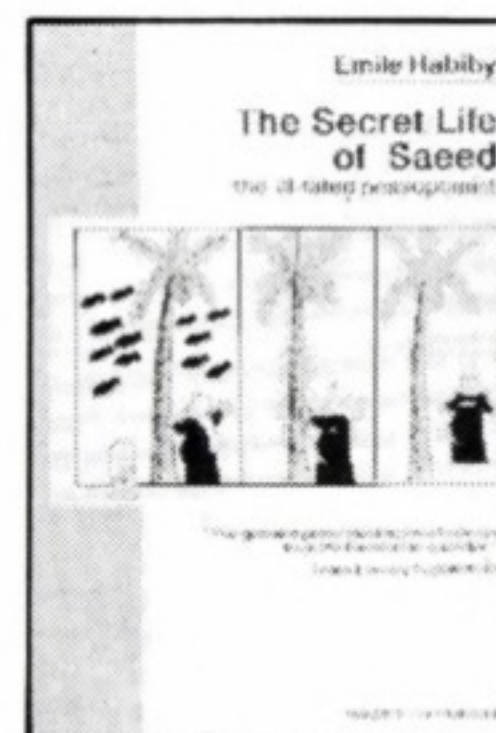
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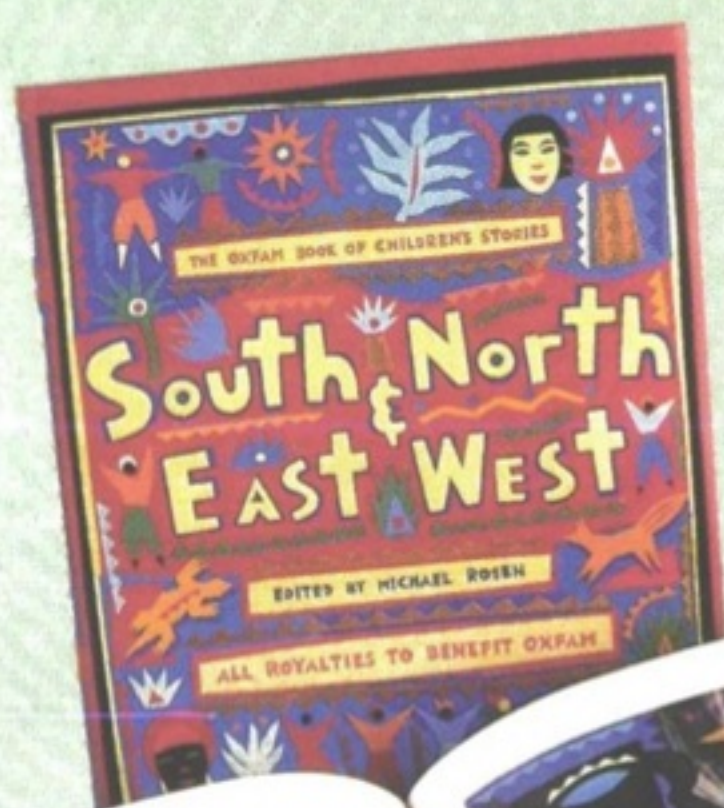
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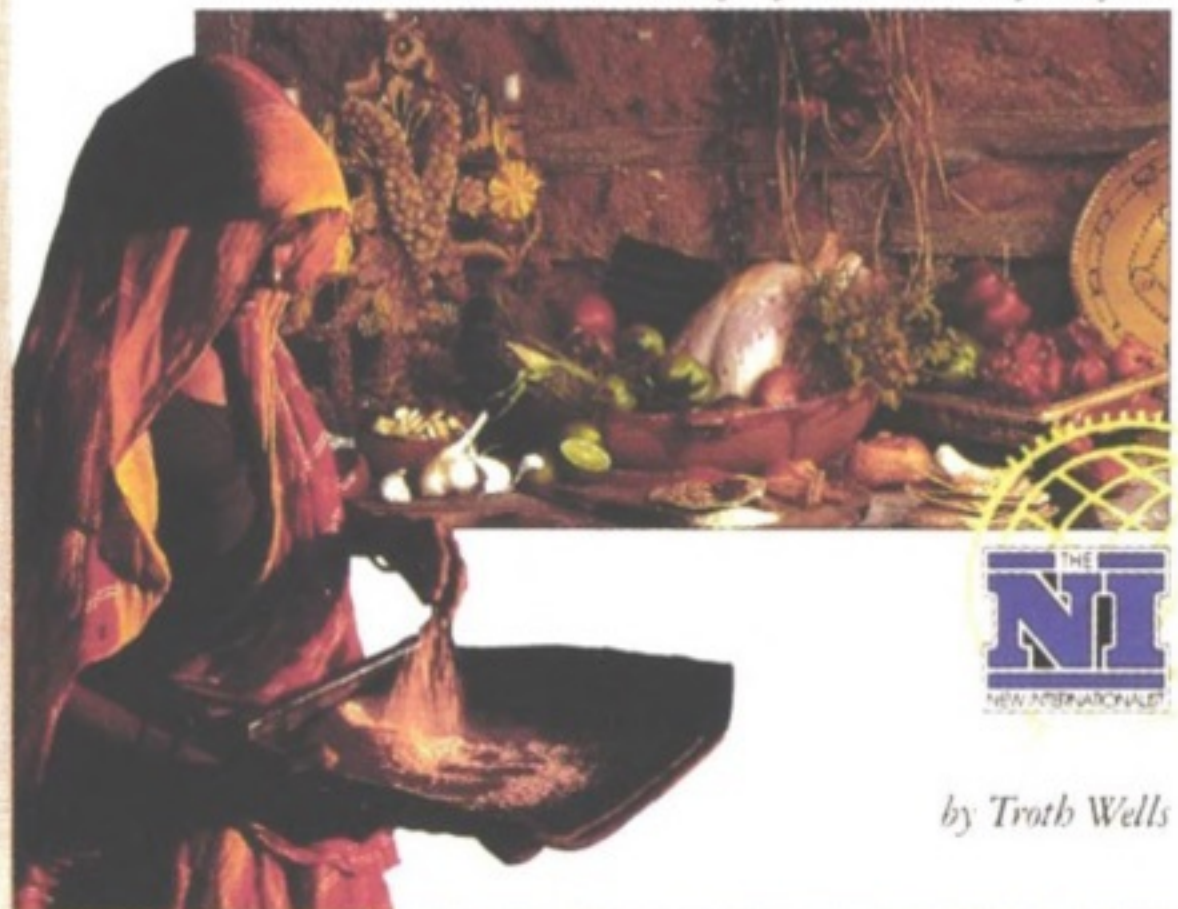
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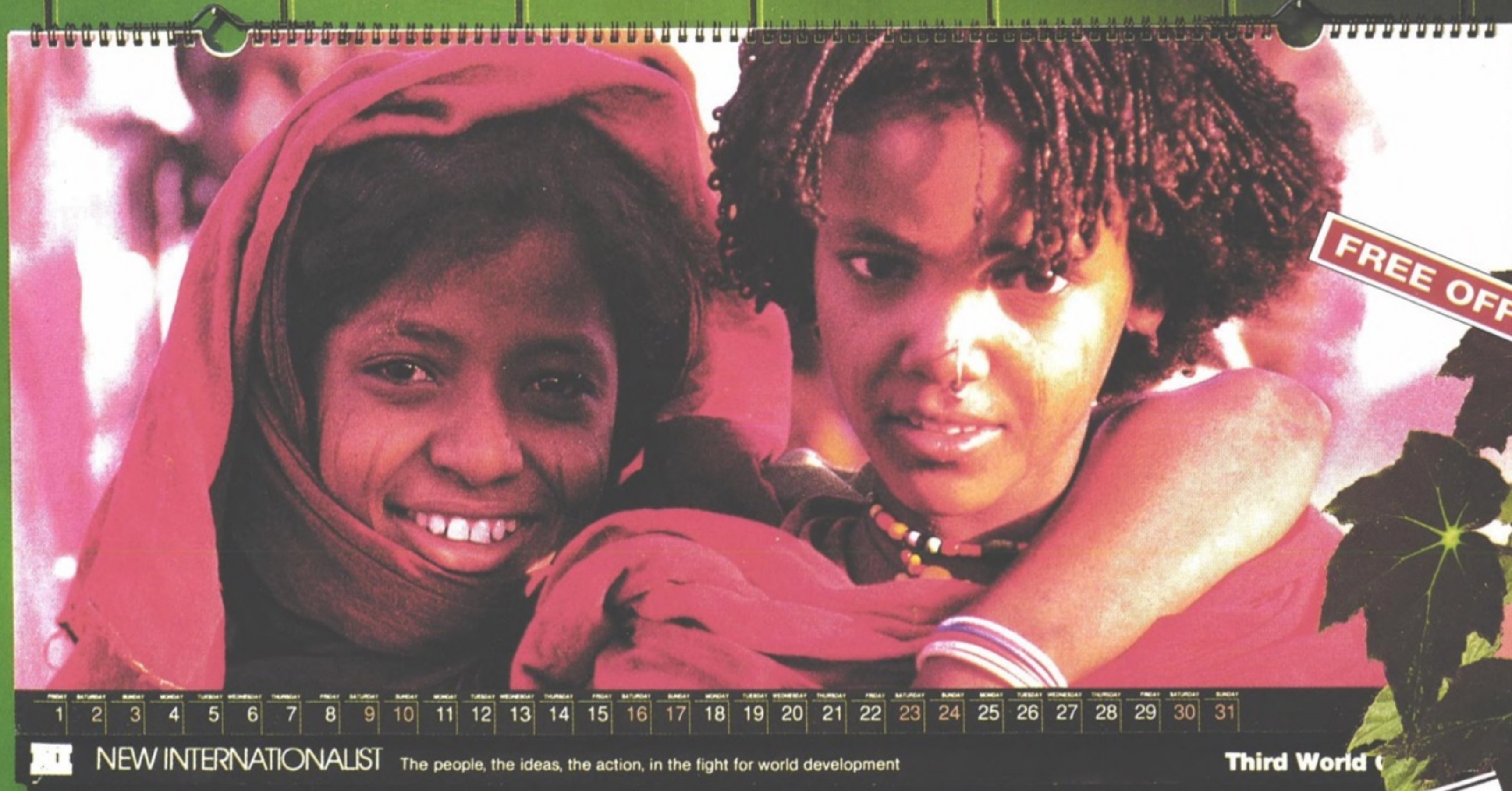
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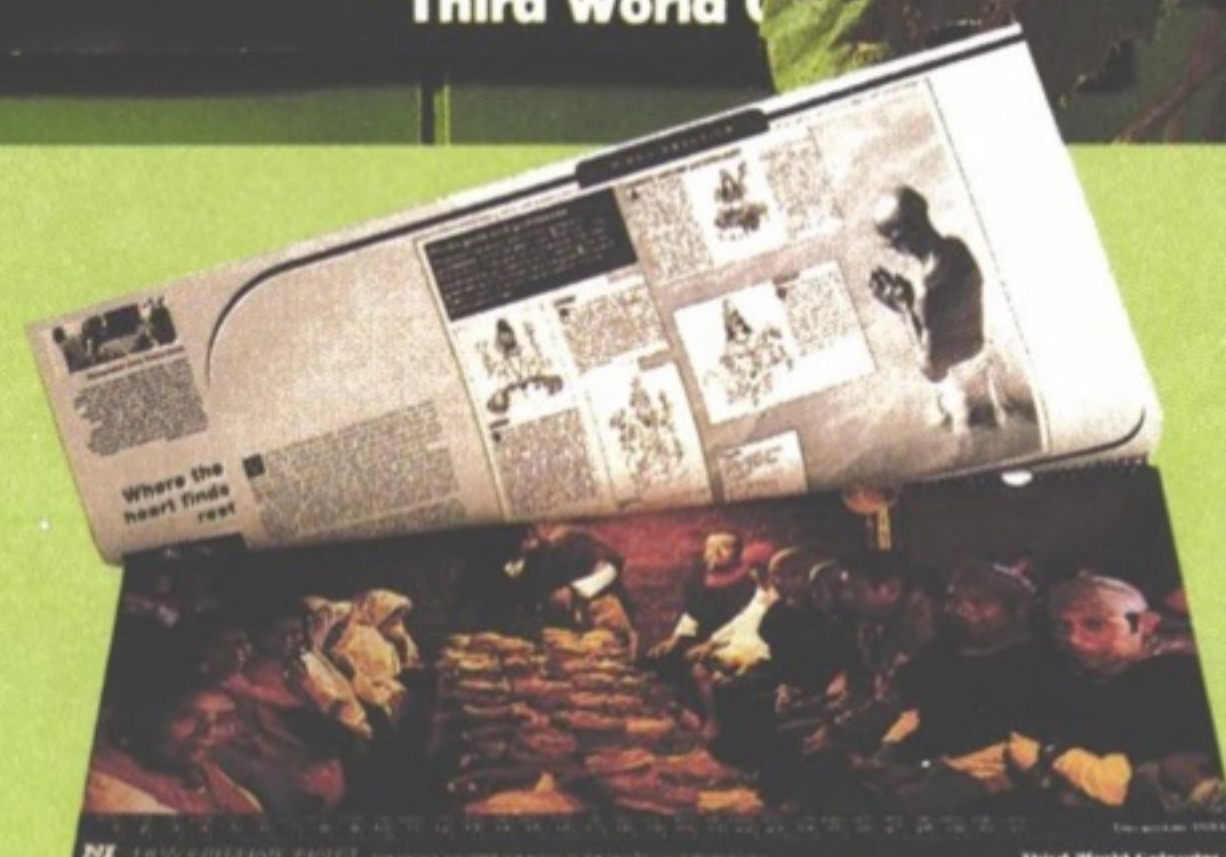
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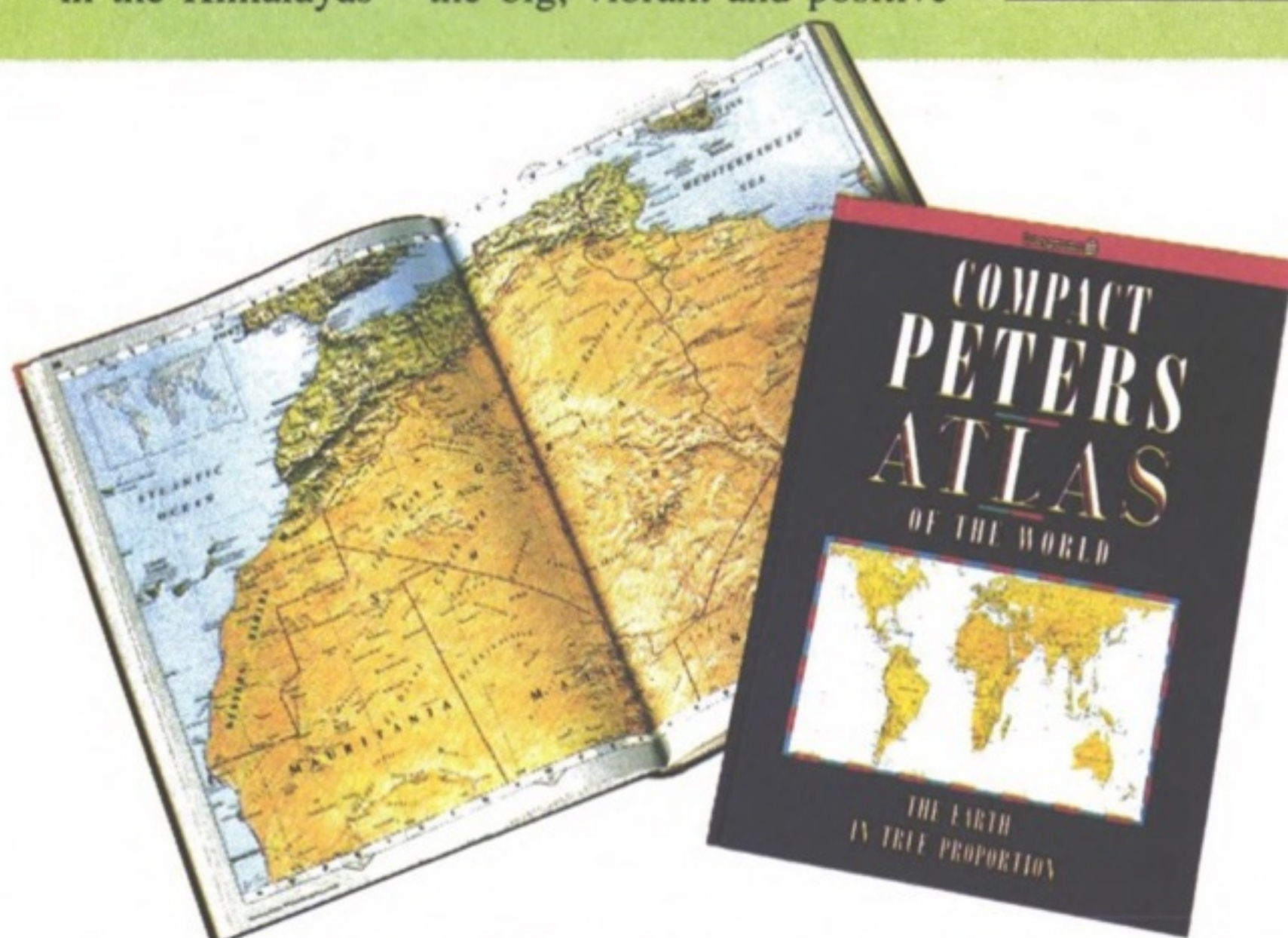
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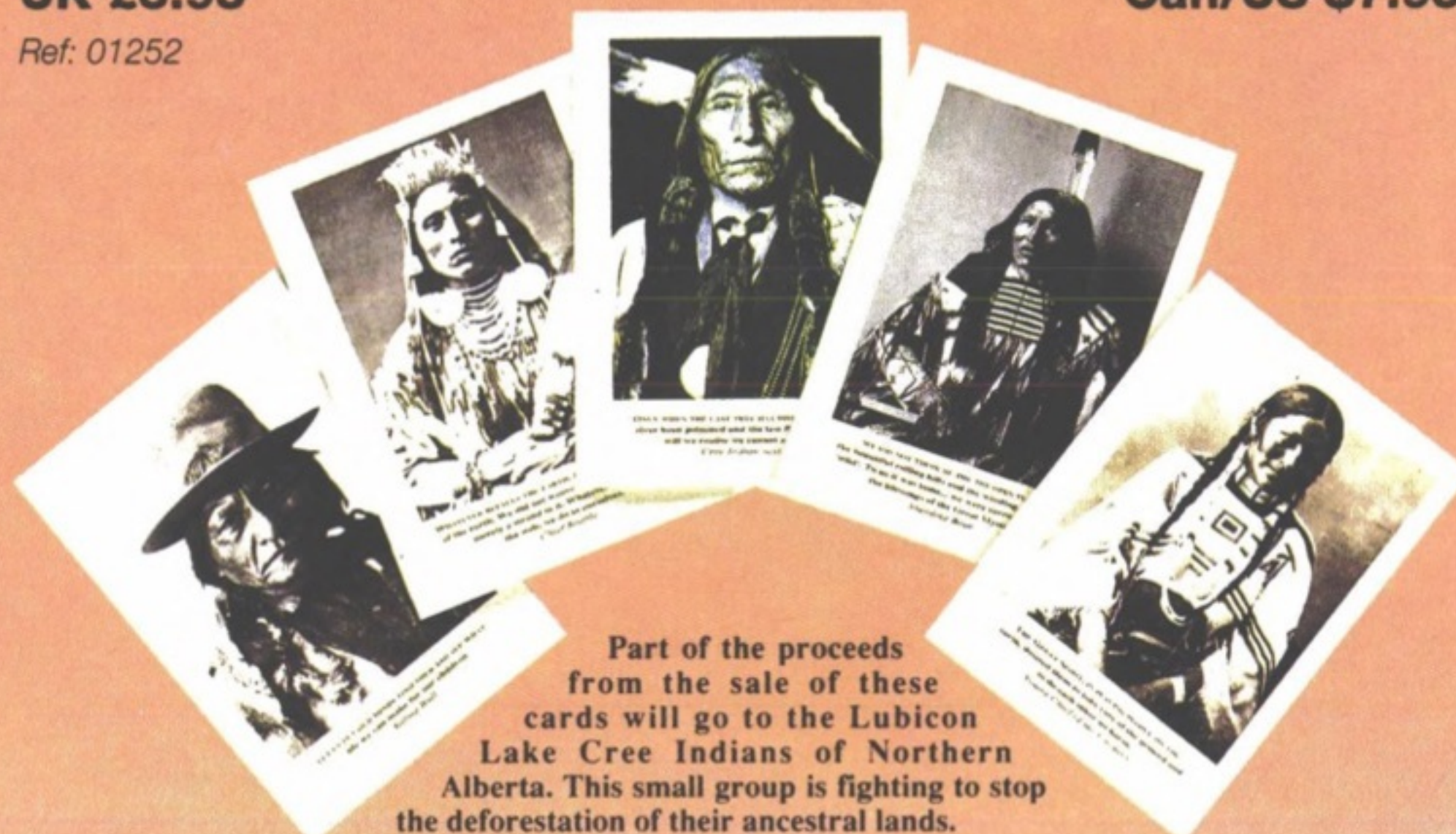
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